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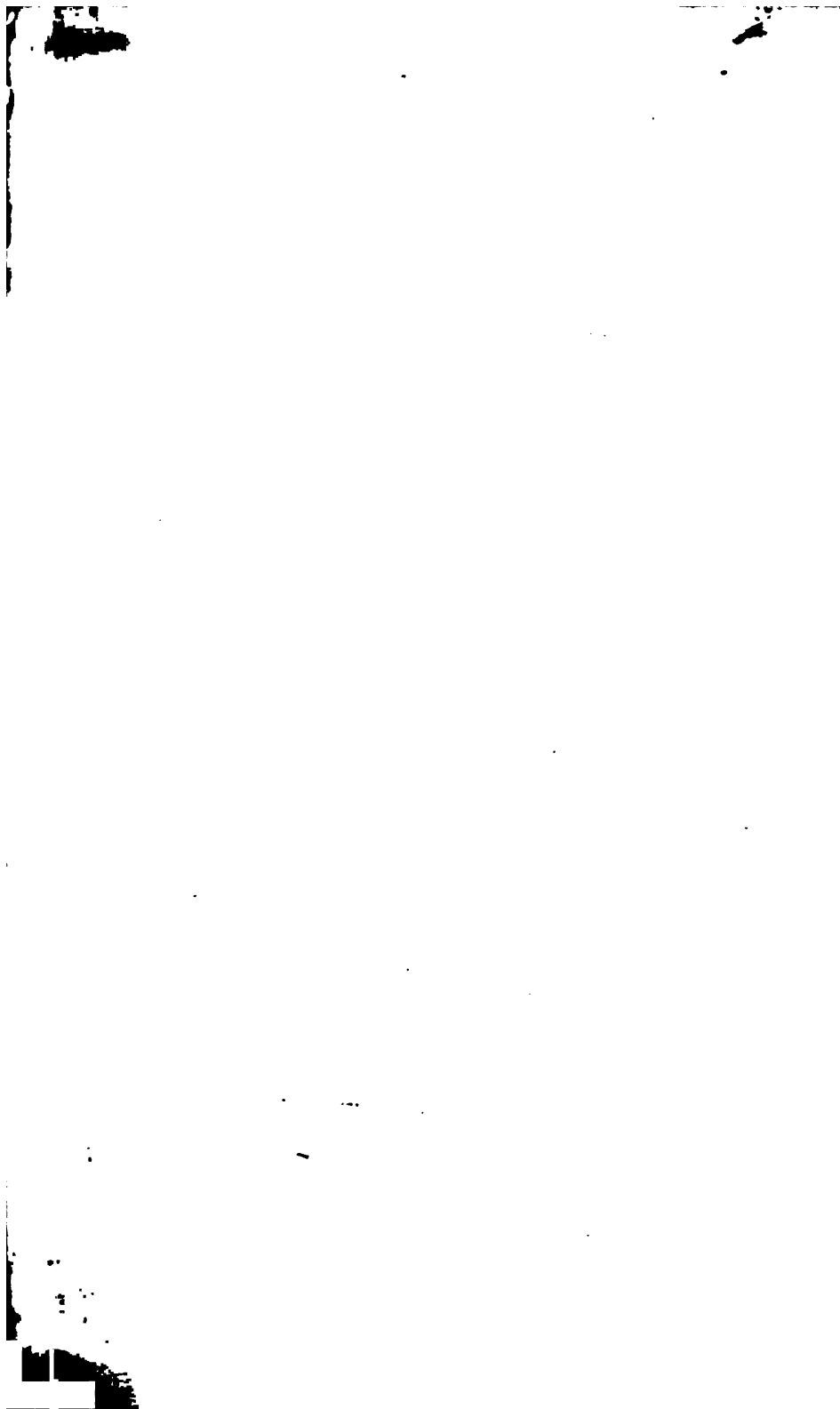
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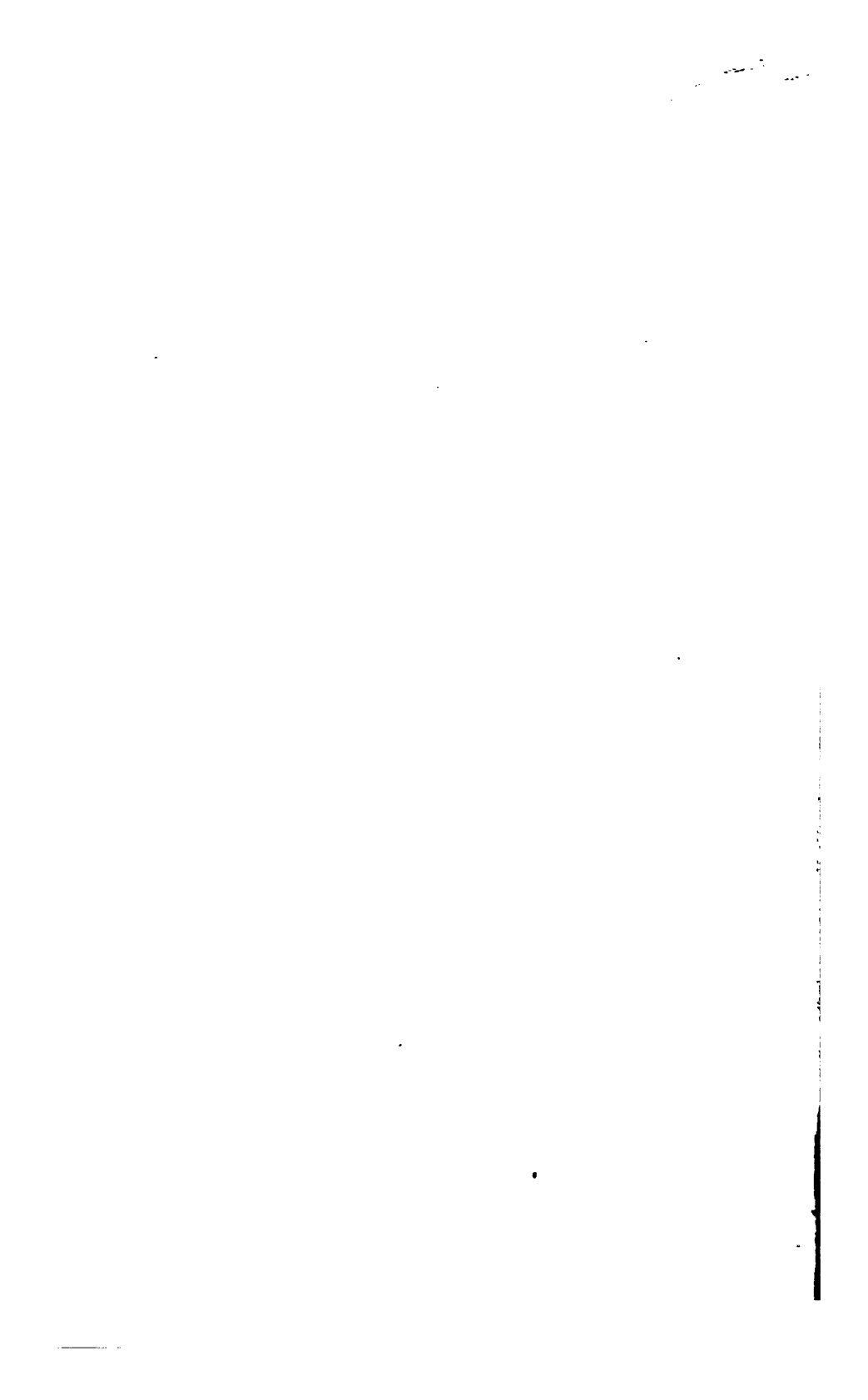
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**T R A N S A C T I O N S**

**IN**

**I N D I A,**

**FROM**

**THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH WAR  
IN SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX,**

**TO**

**THE CONCLUSION OF THE LATE PEACE,  
IN SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE.**

**CONTAINING**

2

**A H I S T O R Y**

**OF THE**

**BRITISH INTERESTS IN INDOSTAN,**

**DURING A PERIOD OF NEAR THIRTY YEARS;**

**DISTINGUISHED BY TWO WARS WITH FRANCE,  
SEVERAL REVOLUTIONS AND TREATIES OF  
ALLIANCE, THE ACQUISITION OF AN EX-  
TENSIVE TERRITORY, AND THE ADMINI-  
STRATION OF GOVERNOR HASTINGS.**

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**L O N D O N.**

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HOUSE, IN PICCADILLY.**

**MDCCLXXXVI.**



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# TRANSACTIONS

IN

## I N D I A.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Introduction—The ambitious projects of Dupleix—His acquisitions—Lawrence and Clive oppose him with success—The decline of the French interest—Mahomed Ally gets possession of the Carnatic—Expedition to Gheriah—Dupleix recalled—A suspension of hostilities—A new war—The French and their allies defeated—Pondicherry captured and razed.*

**E**MULATION is one of the most forcible and operative principles in states or individuals. Man in his social and solitary capacity is the artificer of man. But it is still one of the most important desiderata in morals or politics, whether this master-spring in his nature be ultimately beneficial to the species, or whether, on the whole, its best are not greatly overbalanced by its worst consequences?

B

The

The history of the two rival nations, which eminently exemplifies, at the same time that it approaches nearest to a decision of this point, is that of France and England. The incessant interference of their commerce and ambition, has created such a spirit of envy, occasioned such a series of depredations, rivetted such implacable prejudices, and, for a long succession of ages, produced such a carnage among the species, as are but little alleviated by all the advantages derived to either, from their settled antipathies or reciprocal hostilities!

This ancient and prevailing characteristic in the genius of each, has oftener than once portended the destruction of both. A political contention, however, has thus established itself between them, which more or less affects their minutest and most important operations. It is strengthened and pampered by that luxury which rages in the centre, and extends its baleful influence to the extremities of all their dependencies.

Such are those radical enmities which have not only deluged the whole continent of Europe repeatedly in blood, but which in every quarter of the globe, and among all the nations on earth, exhibit to the eye of speculative humanity, groupes of objects which render them equally shocking and immortal.

These were but too seriously and openly avowed, by the first European government that ever interfered in the politics of Indostan. It was to defend themselves against the deep designs and daring intrigues

intrigues of a Dupleix, that the English in that part of the world originally took up arms. And all those splendid achievements which have hitherto marked their fortunes in India, bear a striking resemblance to the genius and measures of that consummate statesman.

Paris and London are not greater rivals in Europe, than Pondicherry and Madras were formerly in Asia. Their religious prepossessions and peculiarities, their natural aversions, and their interested jealousies, were unhappily corroborated and extended by their vicinity, in being situated in the same province, their commerce, in trading in the same articles, and their aim, in accumulating and grasping at the same advantages.

Dupleix, who added to a wary, subtle, and penetrating understanding, the most romantic and indefatigable spirit of enterprise, inspired his fellow-adventurers with all the inveterate and hereditary animosity of his native country against the English. His envy was peculiarly heightened and aggravated by our superior prosperity. We had secured several valuable establishments in various parts of Indostan, many years before the French. Our countrymen, much to their honour, had happily and wisely conciliated the good opinion of the natives. Their traffic was fair, and their manners irreproachable. Circumspect in their intercourse with the Indians, punctual in their payments, and faithful to their engagements, they commanded respect, and were treated with confidence. The goods they imported were of the

best quality; and the quantities of Asiatic manufacture, and various other commodities, which they sent to Europe, were prodigious. These circumstances were contemplated by the French with envy, in proportion as they interested the neighbouring princes in our success.

The genius of Duplex was ill calculated to brook such a manifest inferiority. His ambition was roused, and he determined on a series of measures which, he flattered himself, could not but terminate in establishing the French on the ruin of the English interest. Notwithstanding the formidable obstacles which he had to surmount, from the advantageous settlements we possessed, the prejudices of the natives in our favours, and the regular and permanent form our commerce had assumed, his abilities were equal to the task. And at a time when the government of the Mogul struck Europeans as irresistible; when to them the magnitude of an Indian army was an object of astonishment and terror; when their settlements were yet in their infancy, and commerce on a very narrow scale, secluded every idea of conquest; when their distance from the parent state, the paucity of their number, the despotism of the laws by which they were protected, and the barbarous forms of justice to which they were daily witnesses, rendered them affable, assiduous, industrious and inoffensive: this sagacious politician discovered the two leading principles by which the present system of rapacity, oppression, and peculation, has been matured, and is still supported.

A secure

A secure and unremitting attention to the trade of India, effectually convinced him, that it never of itself, and as it then stood, could be any considerable object to the French nation. The infinite restrictions and disadvantages under which it laboured, were by no means compensated either to the public or individuals, by the profits it produced. Every article in which they dealt was subjected to such a variety of duties, and obnoxious to such a numerous train of great and petty officers, through whose jurisdiction it passed, that it was impossible to bring it to the market with almost any certain prospect of gain. It was also customary for the Nabobs to extort with rigour and exactness a certain sum annually from all Europeans who presumed to trade in their dominions. They were, at the same time, obliged to keep garrisons in their several factories, and support such a force as they deemed necessary for the protection of their persons and properties in the event of a war among the country powers. All this occasioned such an immense expenditure, as the emoluments of a commerce, thus contracted, impeded, and precarious, was by no means calculated to defray.

The perfect conviction of a fact so mortifying to the pride of adventure, by which the French, especially under the conduct of a Dupleix, were animated, must have impelled them to have finally abandoned India, but that his sagacity and discernment suggested a competent resource in the defect of martial genius, which he could perceive,

even then, to be a predominating feature in the character of the natives. No European troops, before his time, had once took the field against the Prince in whose dominion they resided, or acted as principals in the political altercations of the country. The plains of Indostan were, notwithstanding, perpetually covered with armies. A general peace was unknown, and from the spirit of dissention that prevailed, seemed impracticable in the empire. The whole continent of India was a theatre of discord; in which a violent struggle for supremacy, treasure, or territory, was constantly carrying on by some of its Rajahs or Nabobs.

Thus, the want of adhesion in the political system; the want of discipline in the armies; and the want, perhaps, of the true military spirit in the natives of Indostan, tempted Dupleix to conceive, that by taking such a part in the competition as a prudent use of circumstances might direct, there was a much greater certainty of accumulating wealth, and acquiring glory from fighting, than from commerce. He consequently resolved, without hesitation, to profit by these discoveries, and to render his observations at once subservient to the interest of his employers, and the honour of his nation. A more than ordinary attention was henceforth paid to the affairs of the military. The state of the army was inspected with accuracy, the discipline of the troops was enforced with additional circumspection, and every possible expedient was adopted to complete their numbers, to rouse their ardour, and to render them formidable.

The



The execution was not less masterly than the conception of his plans. He attached himself to the interest of Chundasaheb, whose powerful connections on the one hand, and desperate fortunes on the other, rendered him no improper tool of French policy. This man had given several specimens of an enterprising mind, but all his projects had hitherto failed. His parts, his address, and his magnanimous temper, endeared him to his friends, and even procured him respect from his enemies. Though at this time a prisoner in Satarah, where he had been closely confined for eight years, the power of the Carnatic, on the bloody usurpation of Anwarodean, deemed him the fittest person to contest the nabobship with that hated tyrant. Dupleix guaranteed the ransoms for which the Marratoes consented to release him. And after a great variety of military adventures and vicissitudes, in which the celebrity of his talents, as a soldier, was established and extended, he was received with open arms by Murzafajing, grandson of Nizimmuluch, who then disputed the vice-royalty of the Deccan with his uncle, Nazirjing.

This prince soon perceived the ascendancy of his new ally, and treated him with a confidence and distinction not inferior to the opinion he had formed of his abilities and integrity. Chundasaheb readily acknowledged his authority, and easily prevailed on him to renew and authenticate his claim on the nabobship of Arcot, by issuing letters patent for that purpose. A resolution was conse-

## TRANSACTIONS IN INDIA.

quently formed, of subjugating Anwarodean, as a preliminary step to a successful contest with Nazirjing. The French interest was solicited; Dupleix approved of a scheme probably formed at his instance. The Nabob of Arcot was defeated, and fell at the battle of Amboor; but his death proved to Dupleix, and his allies, only cutting off the head of a hydra. The cause of Mohomedally, second son of Anwarodean, was espoused by a strong party of the neighbouring armies, who dreaded the ambition of Chundasaheb. At their desire, Nazirjing marched into the Carnatic with a strong army. His nephew, Murzafajing, who opposed his claim to the subaship, was now induced to accept of the offers made by his uncle.

This sudden agreement deranged for a moment the affairs of the allies. But Dupleix, ever fertile in resources, found means of creating dissension in the court of the suba [1750]. A conspiracy immediately took place; and while Nazirjing, relying on the faith of the French, with whom a formal treaty had just been concluded, and the loyalty of the tributary Pitans, who were with him in the field, abandoned himself to effeminacy, the former made an attack on those unsuspecting troops who were most in his interest; and the latter raised the banners of rebellion, and murdered their prince in the midst of his guards and the view of his army.

By this unexpected revolution, Murzafajing, the steady friend of the French, was instantly proclaimed Subah of the Deccan. A large territory in the vicinity of Pondicherry, a district still more valuable

valuable, near Karical, in the kingdom of Tanjore, with the city of Massulipatnam, and all its dependencies, which produced, in all, an annual revenue of about thirty-eight thousand pounds, were instantly ceded to the French.

The treasures of Nazirjng were valued at two millions five hundred thousand pounds. Dupleix shared of this immense booty two hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels. In the gorgeous dress of a native prince, he was the first that did homage to the new subah. He was then declared governor for the Mogul, of all the countries south of the river Kirsna, a territory nearly equal in extent to the whole dominions of France in Europe. He was invested with the power and title of Munsub, or commander of seven hundred horse. He was even permitted to bear, among his ensigns, that of the fish, an honour never conferred but on natives of the highest distinction. All money, current in the Carnatic, was also to be coined at Pondicherry; and all the Mogul's revenues in the countries of which Dupleix was appointed vicegerent, were in the first instance to be deposited with him. Chundasahab was appointed nabob of Arcot, under his authority.

By the death of Murzafajng, [Jan. 4, 1751] who, like his uncle, fell a victim, soon after him, to the rapacity of the Pitans, this torrent of good fortune received a temporary check. The genius of Dupleix, however, prevailed over every misfortune. Chundasahab for a while supported his authority in the Carnatic, under the auspices and support of the French interest,

interest, with prosperity. Mahomedally, assisted by the English, and all the adherents of his family, retreat before his victorious army. He followed them to Utatoor, to Siringham, and to Trichinopoly. The destinies of this great warrior overtook him at last. Reduced by the superior conduct of his enemies to capitulate, he put himself in the power of Monahjee, the Myforean general, who immediately ordered his head to be cut off [1752]. Thus was this formidable army, in the space of little more than two months, reduced to the necessity of throwing down their arms, and surrendering at discretion.

Even this disaster was in some degree compensated by the success of the French arms, in supporting the claims of Salabatjing, to the subahship in the northern provinces of the Decan. This campaign was conducted by Buffy, a soldier of experience and capacity. He marched to Canaul, the capital of the Pitau nabob, who had slain the former subah, and determined that the city should suffer for the treachery of its lord.

Having put all the garrison to the sword, and imprisoned the wife of the late nabob, with her two sons, after treating with the general of the Marrattoes, the army entered Golconda, where Salabetjing publicly ascended the throne or musjed, as subah of the Deccan. He then received letters from an ambassador, who pretended to come from the court of Dehli, for the purpose of thus investing him with all the ensigns of government. This he deemed necessary to secure a welcome reception

in Aufengabed. Balgerou, the Marrattoe general, found new causes of breaking with him, but he forthwith invaded their country, and the difference for the present was adjusted. He was opposed by a formidable conspiracy of combatants, in his march to Golconda, but had the good fortune to defeat them in a pitched battle. His rival and elder brother, Ghaziudin Khan; was dispatched at Auren-gazeb by his mother, who poisoned him. The important services of Dupleix were rewarded by a solemn appointment to the nabobship of Arcot.

In this manner did Dupleix proceed in aggrandizing his nation, accumulating advantages to the Company, increasing his own fortune, and establishing his reputation. He raised up Rajahsaheb, the son of Chundasaheb, to counteract or defeat the interest of Mohommed Ally in the Carnatic; and with exquisite address, by his ascendancy over the native princes, by the liberality of his presents, and by the sagacity of his intrigues, as well as by the terror of the French arms, he finally realized the claims of Salabetjing. His views, however, were not sufficiently seconded by those officers, to whom the various expeditions he planned were entrusted. He did not receive those reinforcements and that assistance from home, which the exigencies of his situation required, which his projects supposed, and which he had been taught to expect. But, the greatest impediments to his success arose from the British Triumvirate, Lawrence, Clive, and Sanders, who, at that time, had the charge of our affairs in India.

During

During the brilliant career of Dupleix, the English, restrained by the Company at home, had hitherto remained most unaccountably inactive.— The daring assassination of Nazerjing, which overwhelmed them with horror and astonishment; the variety of white flags, which, as trophies of conquest, ensigns of sovereignty, or signals of defiance, surrounded the English presidency of Fort St. David, are the two memorable circumstances which co-operated with national enmity, to rouse their lethargy, and excite their emulation. The death of the subah, by the treacherous Pitans, struck them as the black contrivance of Dupleix, that his politics of interest and conquest might be no longer thwarted, by managing the opposite interests of two such powerful rivals. And they considered the triumphant flags which streamed in the vicinity of Fort St. David, as an insult to the British character, since it was impossible to open their eyes, without contemplating the mortifying signatures of their own insignificance and disgrace.

The presidency was then under the direction of Mr. Sanders, who arrived in India but a short time before the death of Nazirjing. Convinced by that event, of the vast ambition and extensive object to which Dupleix aspired, he resolved to frustrate his projects as much as possible. His sagacity, his perseverance, and his resolution, enabled him, on many occasions, to command a success, under circumstances peculiarly inauspicious. But the military departments were filled by officers of genius and enterprize. Major Lawrence was the  
first

first who introduced a regular discipline among the British forces in India, and trained the natives who joined them, to fight in the European manner. It was under this hardy veteran that Clive imbibed the rudiments of war. By the joint efforts of these two great men, occasionally assisted by able Admirals, and subordinate officers of considerable merit, the bold designs of Dupleix, and the Court of Versailles, were disappointed, of establishing an universal monarchy in the empire of Indostan, to the utter exclusion of every other European.

The nature of this work, however, prevents our going, with any degree of minuteness, into the detail of the several campaigns which distinguished these early periods of the Indian war. It is necessary only to recapitulate such a series of general facts as may preserve our narrative entire, and introduce us to a more distinct and circumstantial acquaintance with the later and more interesting part of the history of our commercial establishments and territorial acquisitions in that quarter of the globe.

The first favourable circumstance which revived the courage of the English, and impressed the natives with a conviction of their bravery, was an expedition against the province of Arcot, under the command of Clive. With an handful of undisciplined men, he surprised the capital of this rich district, and sustained it against a regular siege of three months, by a numerous army, whom, notwithstanding a furious assault in three different places, he repulsed with great slaughter [1754].

He

He was then reinforced by a party from the army at Trichinopoly, and a confederate body of Mahrattoes, which encouraged him to march in search of the enemy. The forts of Timrey, Aranic, and Conjeveram, fell before him, and in a general engagement at Caveripauke, he routed at least three times his number of troops, and took a large party of French prisoners. The fort immediately surrendered.

Marching across the country he came to the spot where Nazir-jing had been treacherously slain. There a town was rearing with great alacrity, to commemorate that execrable transaction. Its name was Duplex-Fateabat, or the town of Duplex's victory. Coins were struck with symbolical representations of the fact. A stately pillar was at the same time preparing, inscribed with several elaborate descriptions in the French, Malabar, Persian, and Indostan languages, to be erected as a monument of French prowess and good fortune. Clive ordered the whole to be erased, which the army accomplished with expedition and dexterity. It probably inspired them with an auspicious presage of their success over the declining fortunes of the enemy.

From this place the troops proceeded to Fort St. David; nor did they meet or see a single squadron or party of the French, or their allies, during the whole march. Their late defeat succeeding to former disgrace, had totally broken their spirits, deranged their operations, and dispersed their numbers. Their cavalry attached themselves to the governors of such districts as were  
yet



yet in their interest, the Europeans and Sepoys were recalled to Pondicherry, and Dupleix was incensed against Rajahsaheb, the son of his former friend and ally, with whom, on that account, he had intrusted the command, that it was some time before he would allow him to appear in his presence.

Thus the English successes, under the auspices of Major Lawrence and Captain Clive, recovered in the space of a few months, in favour of Mahomedally, the tried friend of the Company, an extent of country in the Carnatic, thirty miles in breadth, and sixty in length, the annual revenue of which, including that of the famous pagoda of Tripetti, amounted to upwards of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

It was at this time [1752] Major Lawrence returned from England, and assumed the command of the army. He possessed the singular magnanimity of regarding with admiration, the certain presages of superior genius in young Clive, whom, notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, he consulted on all occasions. By the advice of this officer, the army was directed. Major Lawrence remained with the main body, on the south of the Caveri, while Clive was sent with a strong detachment to make a diversion on the north of the Caleroon.

Clive succeeded even beyond the Major's most sanguine expectations. The troops seemed inspired with the ardour of their leader. Notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, they possessed themselves of Pithandah and Otatoor. D'Auteuil, who commanded the French, was known to aim at  
a junc-

a junction with the confederate army, who encamped at Seringham, and for whom he had a reinforcement both of men and money. It was of consequence to intercept this succour. The forces under Captain Dalton were consequently ordered to join those of Clive; and this generous officer, though senior in command, that no disputes might impede the service, had the gallantry to accompany the expedition as a volunteer. This party coming up with the enemy at Valconda, a smart engagement took place. The French were so completely vanquished, that the whole, with their commander at their head, were made prisoners by the English.

Nor had the Major less success. He perceived and availed himself of the dissensions which prevailed in the enemy's camp. He followed them into the island, and by every military manœuvre which the most consummate skill in the profession, zeal in the service, and a perfect acquaintance with the characters of the Indian chiefs, enabled him to perform, cut off all communication with the country, and rendered their situation a complete blockade. In consequence of these operations, the various powers of which the confederacy consisted began to shift for themselves, and to make what terms they could with the English. Many of them joined the opposite interest; some having obtained leave to pass the river, returned to their respective homes; and the French, shut up in the pagoda of Jambakistria, were soon obliged to capitulate.

This whole war, in which a profusion of blood and treasure was expended, was almost confined to

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Trinchinopoly and its dependencies. A variety of inferior forts, in the adjacent territories, were constantly changing masters. No considerable advantage was gained on either side, though many skirmishes took place, and several bloody battles were fought. It was a scene in which the genius of the natives was exhibited to advantage. The Europeans contemplated with astonishment the profound duplicity which reigned in their camps, and the consummate address by which they incessantly endeavoured to over-reach one another. To their want of accuracy and manliness in the discrimination of character and conduct, they added a manifest defect of resolution and foresight. Their wars were carried on with the same inattention to system, as fierce, as cowardly, and as merciful, as those of tygers. Their politics degenerated into intrigue, or consisted only in the piddling manoeuvres of sharpers, who have no other object than circumvention. Their alliances invariably originated in avarice or revenge. Their confederacies were without unanimity or spirit, and their attachments equally destitute of friendship and principle.

Nor were the Europeans an object of less novelty to such of the natives as were capable of observation. The decision of the field generally depended on the conduct of the French or English. No spectacle could be more curious and interesting to a person placed in the pagoda of Trinchinopoly, than one of those battles which were fought in its vicinity. The action for the

most part was left entirely to those rival troops, who, though seldom more than a thousand in number, were often hotly engaged, while their respective allies, in prodigious swarms, hovered at a distance, spectators of the fray, and anxious for the issue.

A war thus tedious and abortive, disposed the presidencies of the two companies to think of compromising their differences by treaty. This produced the famous congress at Sadras, which, after much discussion and altercation among the commissioners, produced nothing but a complete proof that the titles of Dupleix were a forgery. Mr. Sanders, who superintended this conference with his usual fidelity and accuracy, perceiving his candour and moderation opposed only by presumption and evasion, after protesting, in the most solemn manner, against whatever had been assumed on the fictitious claims of Dupleix, dismissed the deputies, and put an end to the business.

This detection, for the present, balked the expectations which the prospect of peace had raised in both presidencies. Hostilities were therefore continued, and had probably been protracted to great length, as well as agitated with fresh ardour and animosity on both sides, but that Dupleix was recalled from the government of Pondicherry, and his successor ordered to make peace on any terms.

No news could be more acceptable to all who were disposed to promote the commercial interests of the two companies. Gadeheu, the new governor, in his propositions to the presidency

of Madrafs without delay. A suspension of arms, for three months, was instantly declared, and it was agreed, provided the two companies, who reserved to themselves the right of altering or annulling whatever in the treaty they might think proper, acquiesced in the opinion of their servants; to renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity; never henceforth to interfere in any differences which might take place among the princes of the country, and to deliver up to the government of the empire, all places captured by either during the war, excepting such as should be stipulated to remain in the possession of each company.

The revenues arising from this war to the respective companies, at the cessation of hostilities, which were prodigiously in favour of the French, demonstrate how different the motives were on which it was carried on, and how superior, perhaps, the measures of Dupleix had always been to those of his rivals. The exchange of the prisoners, also proved, that however inferior we might be in the cabinet, we beat them in the field. For though their reinforcements from time to time, as well as their allies, were much more numerous than ours, nine hundred French prisoners were now in our custody, for two hundred and fifty English which were in theirs.

Notwithstanding these appearances of tranquillity, a variety of circumstances occurred to render a general peace impracticable. The finances of Mahommedally were almost totally exhausted. The tributary Polygars, with great professions of

attachment, were united only in the backwardness of their payments. The collection of the Arcot revenues were indispensable. A party of troops were therefore dispatched, under the command of Colonel Heron, to recover what arrears were due to the nabob, in the southern districts. This unfortunate expedition, without effectually serving the nabob, stimulated the presidency of Pondicherry to new hostilities; which, however, by prudence and arrangement on our part, were for the present happily quashed.

The establishment of Mahomedally in Arcot, the capital of his dominions, was also attended with a variety of petty disputes, which could only be settled by a military force. The principal scene of these transactions was the Northern Circars. The detachment which went on this service was commanded by Major Kilpatrick. But, after exhausting every resource of evasion which cunning, chicanery, and even treachery could suggest, without effect, most of the Polygars made good their contributions, and acknowledged their dependance.

It was about this time that Admiral Watson and Captain Clive undertook an expedition against the piratical confederacy on the Malabar coast. The numerous rivers which intersect this part of the country, swarmed with fleets of armed vessels, which subsisted only by plunder. Every species of trade carried on in those seas, was consequently harrassed and obnoxious to perpetual outrage, by the banditti who frequented and infested them.

One Angria was at the head of this formidable combination. He derived from his predecessors a powerful fleet and considerable territory. His depredations on the ships of all nations, who did not purchase his protection at a great price, daily increased his consequence. The Company were at the annual expence of fifty thousand pounds, in order to exempt their commerce from his rapacity.

Admiral Watson, in conjunction with several transports commanded by Clive, directed his course for Gheriah, the capital of this naval robber. Though strong by nature, and considerably fortified by art, it could not withstand the danger to which these preparations exposed it. Angria retreated to the Marattos, whom he hoped to appease by presents, or amuse by stipulations. The garrison, without a commander in whom they could confide, the assistance of engineers, or indeed any solid prospect of success, did not even attempt a regular defence. The fort surrendered, after a smart cannonade, and there were found in it a large quantity of military stores, and a hundred and twenty thousand pounds in money, which, without any reserve either for the nation or the Company, was shared among the captors on the spot. And happy had it been for the British character, for the natives of Indostan, and for the interest of the Company, if their civil or military servants had never indulged a species of more criminal speculation.

No event since the late treaty bore a more favourable aspect to the English interest than the dismissal of the French troops under the command of

De Buffy, from the service of the subah. It happened at Savanore, which lies two hundred miles southwest of Galconda. This formidable connection had been long an eye-fore to the Company, who knew it to be a source of certain aggrandisement and opulence to their rivals. The ministry of Salabatjing were also disgusted by an ally, whose conduct was no less assuming and lofty than his demands were exorbitant and insatiable. The English had consequently the less difficulty of undermining De Buffy and the French interest in the viceroy's favour. Their agents, though it is alledged without any authority from them, stipulated in their name that the subah should have the same assistance from the presidency of Madras, which he had formerly received from Pondicherry, and without any of those mortifying conditions which the French had thus ungenerously extorted from him, under the pressure of the most critical circumstances.

The party against the French, among the various intrigues going forward in the vizir's court, was every day acquiring additional influence from the well known principle of espousing the cause of the strongest; and Salabatjing, notwithstanding his regard for Buffy, had not sufficient resolution to oppose so powerful a combination against him. He was, in truth, like most other great men, without a will of his own, and the more arbitrary a tyrant, from being so much a slave. Buffy, the moment the refractory nabobs had made their submission, was therefore, at the instigation of his enemies, ordered  
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to leave the subah's camp, and march without delay for Pondicherry.

This able officer received, and immediately prepared to obey, the unexpected mandate, with that indignant pride which it is so natural for the noble and brave to feel, when their best services are only thus rewarded with the blackest ingratitude.

In this manner had the contests of the Europeans long raged in the Deccan like a hurricane. By the attention of the Presidency to the Company's interest at the mouth of the Ganges, the storm for a moment subsided. Buffy, in the mean time, effected a reconciliation with the subah, and during this short interval of repose, the affairs of his government were interrupted only by the petty intrigues of rival omrahs.

Nothing of material consequence, indeed, to either party, was at present agitated in the Carnatic. The chiefs, as usual, carried on the trade of plunder, treachery, and assassination, in the frontiers, while the heart of the country enjoyed a momentary cessation of hostilities. It was, however, but the transient slumber of the wretched, who suddenly awake to new and more aggravated miseries.

The war which France and England soon afterwards commenced, involved, more or less, all their interests and dependencies in India. Many of the principal provinces of the Deccan, and especially the southern and northern vicinities of the Carnatic, were universally embroiled by fresh disturbances.

The two Companies regarded the motions and connections of each other with jealousy and ran-

cour. The policy of the natives in all its darkness and obliquity became the favourite study of both, and both made wonderful proficiency in this pernicious and disgraceful science.

A new competitor put in his claims for the subahship of the Deccan, supported by all the weight of legal authority, and a powerful combination of the most warlike princes in the empire; a strong reinforcement of troops landed from Europe, and the sovereignty of the Indian seas was disputed on the Coromandel coast by the English and French fleets, with the utmost inveteracy and valour. Every part of this vast peninsula, where either of these nations had any interest or alliance, suffered all the ravages of war for a series of years. The two presidencies, and the principal of their respective factories, were alternately besieged and relieved by their respective forces and allies. Many of them, even in the course of a few months, repeatedly changed their masters, their inhabitants, and their garrisons. Here the British arms evidently partook of the general good fortune which at that period every where attended them. They baffled every confederacy that threatened to check their success. They defended Madras; they took Pondicherry; they recovered Calcutta, with infinite advantages; and they acquired the revenues of a rich and extensive territory, amounting, it was said, to upwards of three millions a-year.

The romantic campaigns of Lally are fresh in every man's remembrance, who recollects the glorious and triumphant conclusion of that memorable war.

war. He lost Malulipatam, and the northern provinces, by recalling De Buffy from Salabatjing, and appointing an officer of inferior abilities to succeed him in that critical situation. He wasted much time, much treasure, and many lives, without effect, in an investment of Madras, which might have been occupied in co-operating with the allies of the French Company, and extending their interest. He crippled his army by the large detachments which he sent to Seringham, and enabled the English, in consequence of their taking possession of Vandevash and Corangoly, to extend their barrier south of the Palier.

These, however, were not the causes which ruined the French in India. There is no country in the world in which war is so expensive as this. The loss of the French, and our advantage, by the capture of Chandernagore, and our other important acquisitions in the rich province of Bengal, drove them from India. The British conquests on the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts were achieved by Clive on the banks of the Ganges.

Lally might be deficient in the local knowledge of the country. Perhaps he conceived too contemptibly of the native princes to make the best use of their assistance. But he was obliged to act on the sea coast without a squadron, and when he penetrated into the interior parts of the country, his allies were refractory, and his troops mutinied for want of pay. Notwithstanding these impediments, out of ten battles he had only lost one, and might well be allowed, after gaining nine battles,  
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and taking ten places with the same troops, to retreat before superior numbers.

But Lally, like many other great men, owed his fall to the rectitude of his feelings, the contumely of his wit, and the severity of his discipline. From the moment he landed at Pondicherry, he expressed the most determined aversion to the venality which every where furrounded him. Superior to the mean practices connected with pecuniary pursuits, he regarded those who had no other object, with unequivocal contempt. He was ordered to investigate those enormities which had impoverished the Company, and to punish the delinquents. The evils he was destined to redress, were speculation, disobedience, treachery, plunder, cowardice, and mutiny.

The office was unpopular, and Lally erred, in thinking himself entitled to a cordial reception from those who detested, and thought their safety endangered by his business. He was soon convinced what he may expect who would wrest from the wicked the spoils of iniquity. A league was instantly formed to defeat the end of his appointment; and those who ought to have co-operated with him in the service, were studious only to harass him with difficulties, as their own ruin could be avoided no other way than by accomplishing his.

Whatever conjectures may be formed of the many splendid events which give a lustre to this period of the British story in the Deccan, and throughout the whole Indian peninsula, as in every other part of the world, our arms were ultimately

ultimately victorious. This seems not to have been the scene in which the French were destined to reap their laurels. Their troops, perhaps, had never any where behaved so uniformly ill.— They fled at *Caveripauke*, they fled at *Bahoor*, they fled twice in *Tanjore*, they laid down their arms at *Volconda*, they surrendered at discretion in *Seringham*, they failed twice before *Cudalore*, twice before *Arcot*, twice before *Trinchinopoly*, and at the siege of which one half of them were made prisoners.

They were now finally worsted. Peace was once more restored to the Carnatic, and the enemy every where dislodged from their fastnesses. Pondicherry was captured and erased. Vellore was also taken, after a vigorous resistance. The grants of the northern circars to France were at the same time disannulled, and their sovereignty perpetually invested in the English. And, by the peace of Paris, *Mahomedally Cawn* was acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, and *Salabatjing* lawful subah of the Deccan.

## CHAPTER II.

*Revolutions in Bengal—Surajah Dowlah—Meer Jaffer—Coffim Ally Cawn—The Company's accession to the Dewannee—Sujah ul Dowlah—Treaties—Lord Clive goes out to India—Select Committee—Altercation with the Members of the Board.*

OUR military transactions on the coast of Coromandel were suddenly suspended, by intelligence which the presidency of Madras received from Bengal. Surajah Dowlah, a young prince without parts, experience, or humanity, had almost annihilated our interest in that division of the empire.

In June, 1756, Fort William, after a brave defence, under circumstances peculiarly distressing, surrendered to an immense army, headed by the nabob in person. The town was burnt and pillaged, the treasury of the Company plundered, the publick works demolished, and a hundred and fifty of the garrison, who survived the capture, thrust into a strong dungeon, not more than eighteen feet long, and fourteen feet wide, with only two holes barricaded by iron bars, where they remained all night in such a state of suffocation, from want of fresh air, the heat of the season, and their own perspiration, that most of them perished in a violent delirium. On the morning twenty-two were found merely  
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alive, and exhibited such a picture of distress, as human nature has seldom suffered or survived.

This dreadful information was received by our countrymen on the coast with infinite horror and indignation. It was a misfortune the more serious and alarming, that it had not been foreseen, and which required all the strength of the Company to surmount. After a mature, and, on such an emergency, perhaps a tedious deliberation in the council of Madras, Clive was ordered for Bengal, at the head of nine hundred Europeans, and a thousand five hundred sepoy. Watson and Pococke were at the same time destined to second his operations by sea, with a fleet of two ships of the line and three large frigates.

The armament which had thus left Madras in October, after encountering various disasters from cross winds and adverse currents, appeared in a very shattered condition before Mayapore, in the latter end of December. And notwithstanding many of our forces were not arrived, the fort of Buzbuzia, ten miles up the river, was attacked next day and carried, though not without considerable difficulty.

The army, eager to regain Calcutta, and to revenge the shocking catastrophe of their countrymen, pressed forward to that place; which, however, was abandoned by the garrison on exchanging a few shot with the ships which anchored in the road. The general devastation which a barbarous and infuriate enemy had committed on a spot so endeared to the English by long residence, the con-

convenience of its harbour and situation for commerce, and the splendour of its public edifices, was a spectacle which many of its late inhabitants on their return, and those who knew it in its better days, contemplated with the strongest expressions of horror and anxiety.

There was, however, no time to waste in unavailing regret. Clive entrenched his troops within four miles of the factory. In a few days the exasperated subah made his appearance at the head of a prodigious army, approached within a few miles of the English, and pitched his own tent in a garden at the back of the town. An attempt was made to amuse our people with offers to form the basis of a negotiation. But suspecting treachery in these overtures, a plan was formed for attacking the head-quarters next morning. For this purpose between four and five hundred sailors landed from the fleet at one o'clock. About two the troops were under arms, and marched by four to the attack of the nabob's camp. Clive's intention was to have seized his cannon, and stormed his tent; and his plan had probably been executed; but when day-light appeared the army was involved in such an impenetrable fog, that they could not see three yards before them. This circumstance equally affecting our troops and the enemy, the greatest confusion ensued, and continued till the English had marched through the whole Indian camp.— So brisk a fire was however kept up, that we lost near a hundred men; the enemy twenty-two officers



ters of distinction, six hundred soldiers, and about the same number of their most useful animals.

The success of this unexpected attack so effectually damped the subah's spirits, as well as the courage of his omrahs and the great men near his person, that he was now as anxious to conclude a serious reconciliation with the Company, as he had formerly been to harass or amuse them. It was therefore agreed, that he should restore the Company's factories, with such of the plundered effects and monies as had been regularly brought to account in the books of his government. He allowed the fortifications of Calcutta to proceed; gave leave to coin money in a mint of our own; exempted all merchandise under the Company's passports from tax, fee, or imposition; permitted them to take possession of the thirty-eight villages assigned them by the emperor Furrukhshir, and reinstated them in all their former privileges.

Political treaties in Indostan, as in Europe, are binding only while it continues the interest of neither party to infringe them. The English did not enjoy their advantages with moderation, nor the nabob regard his engagements with fidelity. They captured the French settlements at Chandernagore without his consent, and he afforded their enemies assistance without consulting either their interest or his own honour. A fresh rupture was the consequence, and both prepared for new hostilities.

A committee for directing the military operations in Bengal, had been appointed on the commencement of the war. It consisted of Drake,  
Watson,

Watson, Clive, and Kilpatrick. Clive suggested the indispensable necessity of an immediate revolution in the government of the subahship, without which; in his opinion, there could be no permanent establishment of the English interest. His idea was implicitly adopted, and the completion of the measure left to his management, in concert with Mr. Watts, the Company's resident at the court of the nabob.

It was a curious and striking occurrence in the vicissitudes of human society, for the agents of a mercantile association, at such an immense distance from their native country, to meditate the downfall of a government by whose indulgence they enjoyed a multitude of privileges, and which, for extent of territory, for population, for revenue, and for commerce, had scarcely an equal in the world.—Nor was it the least extraordinary circumstance attending a conspiracy thus singularly daring and atrocious, that the execution of it was entirely confided to the petty commander of a few battalions, a mere pecuniary factor, and one or two inferior agents, of desperate fortunes and equivocal principles.

It was the ruin of Surajah Dowlah, that, to the strongest habits of obstinacy and avarice, he added ignorance, temerity, and cruelty in the extreme. Intoxicated with ideas of his own consequence, the high prerogatives of his situation in the empire, the insignificance of his subjects, and the impotence of his enemies, he not only acted without foresight and without system, but there was not a single om-  
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rah in whom he could place the smallest confidence; or who could afford the least advice. All of them consulting his humour, rather than the difficulties under which he laboured, encouraged him in the absurd and fatal policy of making war on the English, whose power and resources must have appeared fully to him, who has been heard to say that he did not believe there was ten thousand men in all Europe, altogether incapable of seriously affecting his interest. Indeed he had only affected from the first to be offended with their scrupulous attention to their own safety, as implying a distrust of his ability or inclination to protect them; or from an idea of their immense opulence, was desirous, under the pretext of asserting his authority, to possess himself of their treasure. This unworthy object was, however, prosecuted with an ardour and steadiness which would have done credit to a better cause. Little suspecting, while thus invested with all the ensignia of sovereignty, surrounded with multitudes of slaves, and controuling the finances of the empire; that his throne was shortly to be usurped, his fate pronounced, and his riches divided by a handful of traders.

Even among his own friends and dependents; his choleric and avaritious disposition, his treacherous and dastardly passions, were sources of eternal apprehension and mistrust. The dissatisfactions of the court soon pervaded the camp, and the principal officers in the army, from motives of self-preservation as well as of resentment, agreed with Clive and Watts to annihilate the power of the

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tyrant. So desperate and determined are the greatest slaves in nations the most effeminate and pusillanimous sometimes rendered, by the rigid exercise of despotism; and such is the dangerous pre-eminence of occupying a throne established in blood.

The choice of a successor fell on Meer Jaffer, on account of his riches, his high rank, and the great influence he possessed both in the army and the councils of his sovereign. The treasonable negotiation was carried on by the intrigues of Omichund, a black merchant, who, anxious to profit by so important a transaction, put a most enormous price on his treachery. The principals, on fixing the estimate of the whole, deeming his demands arbitrary and impracticable, resolved on disappointing his venality, without endangering their scheme, by trifling with his resentment.

To accomplish this manœuvre with the greater certainty, two treaties were prepared and authenticated by the signatures of the respective parties; one in which the terms of Omichund were expressed; another intended only to be observed, in which no mention was made of his name. No arguments could induce Admiral Watson to sign so infamous an instrument, but he connived at the stratagem, by suffering another, at Clive's suggestion, to affix his name.

The treasures of Surajah Dowlah were calculated exceedingly beyond their value. Clive dictated the negotiation; and specified the distribution of the booty. Dazzled by the dignity to which he aspired,

inspired, Meer Jaffier implicitly acquiesced in whatever was proposed. He engaged to give the Company one million two hundred thousand pounds; the European sufferers six hundred thousand; the same sum to the navy and army; two hundred and fifty thousand to the natives of the country, and a hundred thousand to the Armenians.

It was also stipulated, that these treasonable arrangements should only take place when Meer-Jaffier should have foully betrayed his master in the field. This memorable instance of perfidy was acted in the Grove of Plassey, [June 26, 1757] where the standard of rebellion was hoisted, and where a few hundreds of British soldiers are said to have acquired immortal honour, by facilitating the sanguinary machinations of traitors against the dominion and life of their lawful sovereign, by taking advantage of an enemy thrown into confusion, and convulsed by the death or desertion of its officers, and by deluging the plains with the blood of an unwieldy multitude, without arms, union, confidence, or discipline, and equally incapable of resistance or retreat. Meer Musdan, the most faithful and accomplished of Surajah Dowlah's generals, being mortally wounded by a cannon ball, the command devolved on the confederate of the English. This accident probably decided the contest, as it removed the only individual who, by his prudence and ability, might have checked the conspiracy. Clive, who had gone to rest while the tragedy was acting, only awoke to witness the concluding scene. After re-

primanding his officers for daring to fight without his orders, while he was asleep, he marched with his usual coolness and intrepidity at the head of a party, and drove the enemy from an advanced post, where a few pieces of artillery had done considerable execution. The troops of Meer Jaffier, at that instant, drew off from the field of battle. This movement, connected with the profound neutrality which Clive had observed in that division of the army, soon convinced him who they were. This spectacle was not more pleasing to him than the news of it proved alarming to the nabob.—Plunged as he was in despair, from the conviction that his confidence had been placed in a traitor, and no longer able to discriminate his friends from his foes, he hurried from the fatal spot, and snatched an interval of miserable respite from the destinies that surrounded him, by hurrying himself a moment, for the last time, among his women and his wealth. His defeat was complete. Most of the troops preferred the fortunes of Meer Jaffier. And Surajah Dowlah, as a dreadful lesson to tyrants, was reduced, from wielding the rod of oppression, to consult his own safety under the disguise of a vagabond. His retreats were soon discovered, and those who had deprived him of his throne, thought themselves also entitled to put an end to his life.

In this manner was fought the celebrated battle of Plassey. Truth will ascribe the achievement to treachery, when the lustre of the actors ceases to give brilliancy to the fact. It was no new mode  
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of displaying military heroism, and Clive was but a servile imitator in making the experiment, first to bribe the general, and then to massacre the troops.

No sooner was Meer Jaffier seated in the musnud, [June 30th] than he found the treasures of his predecessor utterly inadequate to the full and immediate discharge of all his pecuniary engagements. His debts, by the ordinary expences of government, accumulated of course; his allies were dissatisfied; his officers in disgust neglected the discipline of the army, and a total relaxation prevailed through all the gradations of authority.— Eight hundred thousand pounds in specie was at one time remitted to Calcutta. The tardiness of the subsequent disbursements, the jealousies of the court, the encroachments and insolence of our countrymen, the nabob's suspicions, and the intrigues of his confidential servants, produced such a complicated series of altercation, as terminated in an inveterate dislike on both sides.

The Company, on receiving the dispatches which announced the success of their troops at Plassay, had appointed Clive governor of Calcutta. It was then that the French were making their last efforts, under Lally, on the coast of Coromandel. Clive projected the scheme of driving them from the Northern Circars, which yielded a revenue of four hundred thousand pounds a-year. This expedition was commanded by Colonel Ford, whose success was as brilliant and complete as, from the infinite

difficulties he had to encounter, it certainly was unexpected.

In the month of August, 1759, the Dutch made their appearance in Hughly river, in a hostile manner. Notwithstanding we were then at peace with that nation, the governor determined to oppose them. The nabob was called upon to fulfil his engagements, to order them forthwith to leave the river, and in case they did not comply with his orders, the English resolved, under his sanction, to attack them. Seven ships full of men came within a mile of Calcutta, and landed fifteen hundred, Colonel Ford, who had just returned from the conquest of the Circars, was ordered to intercept them in their march to their factory Chinsura.— This he did, with about a force of a thousand men, so effectually, that of seven hundred Europeans not above fourteen reached the place of their destination. The ships commissioned by the Dutch for this clandestine expedition were at the same time all taken. A treaty however took place, in which the Dutch East-India Company agreed to defray the expences of the war, and that they should never introduce forces into the nabob's country without his consent, or keep at all their settlements together more than a hundred and twenty-five soldiers. The English also returned the captures they had made, which were valued at half a million sterling.

This unaccountable event was roundly attributed to the connivance of the nabob, who was now become odious for his cruelty, and despicable for his  
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insignificance. The English immediately conceived the plan of a new revolution; but had the address to disguise their intentions, under the appearance of cordiality with the subah. While affairs were in this tranquil posture, and Meer Jaffer deemed himself secure in his government, he was suddenly divested of sovereignty [1760], in favour of his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Cawn.

Excuses were easily fabricated for the repetition of this violent measure. The defects of his government were resolved into his want both of capacity and principle. He was charged with ingratitude to his benefactors, because the Company's servants were not uniformly preferred to his own countrymen. His private conduct was exposed and blackened by libels of the grossest enormity. But the truth seems to have been, that Meer Jaffer had adopted a policy which might not eventually coincide with the ambition and venality of his new masters. Intoxicated by their late extraordinary success, and overwhelmed by the vast torrent of wealth which incessantly flowed in upon them, the speculations, the projects, and the desires of fresh acquisitions, which agitated the minds of these men, knew no bounds. And the natural inclination which the nabob unavoidably discovered for recovering that independence which he had lost, and which he had deemed essential to the utility of his high situation, only stimulated them to hold the domination they had grasped with a tighter hand.

Cossim Ally Cawn was not more patient under the controul of the Company, though he felt the

necessity of an implicit submission. An establishment founded on their protection struck him, as not less mortifying than precarious. It was attended with circumstances which divested his character of its proper influence. He thought himself entitled to the command of troops who were occupied in his service, and whom he was bound to pay. But every European in his army affected an independence, incompatible with the discipline of the whole. The officer who headed these detachments took a pleasure in disputing his most trivial orders, and exposing the imbecility of his government to the derision of his subjects. From the hour of his accession to power, scarce a day passed in which occasion was not taken, from the most trivial occurrences, of lessening his dignity, insulting his impotence, and rendering his dependence on the patronage of the Company irksome and insupportable.

It is impossible that two governments of equal authority in any country can uniformly coincide or long subsist, without clashing in matters of importance. The abuses in most of the subordinate factories were become gross and enormous. They assumed the privilege of deciding in every dispute where their own interests were concerned; soldiers and sepoy attended their orders, and even officers in considerable stations in the country government, were ignominiously beat at their desire. They forcibly seized the property of others, dealt indiscriminately in all merchandize, fixed their own prices, extorted payment, hoisted English colours, forged

forged passes, and treated every idea of justice with ridicule and defiance. The consequence was, that shops were shut up, and villages abandoned; and the whole province was in an uproar, with outcries against the tyranny of the English, and the encroachments of the nabob. But every struggle made by the peasantry, and others, to prevent and repel these extortions, was constantly construed into an attack on the rights of the Company. When the nabob stated these grievances, they were not redressed, and when he attempted to compromise them, he was charged with partiality. ✓

These instances of disrespect were ill calculated to conciliate the attachments of a prince, formed on maxims of the most barbarous despotism. But he had strength of mind to render his feelings subservient to his duty and his interest, and to make the experiment whether he could not obtain by policy, what he had so little hope of remedying by complaint. His first care was to reform the various abuses which had crept into all the departments of state. He discharged the Company's debt, and the heavy arrears of the army, retrenched the expences of his court, which had so frequently impoverished his predecessors, established his own authority over the country, by lessening that of the Zimindars, increased the number of his troops, and disciplined them in the European manner; and by a constant attention to the operations of commerce, considerably improved the resources of the revenues.

The Mogul princes, who understood the true interests of the empire, had, for the encouragement

ment of commerce, exempted the English East India Company from many duties to which the natives were subjected. They were possessed of a passport, which procured their exemption at all the custom-houses and toll-bars in the country. But the servants of the Company, aware of their recent ascendancy over the government of the province, prostituted this privilege, to the obvious detriment of the customs. Cossim Ally Cawn regarded this imperious commerce with indignation. He saw subjects excluded as aliens from their own trade, and the finances involved in the ruin of the country. He adopted the magnanimous resolution of declaring a free trade through all his dominions. This wise expedient was met with the confidence of avowed and determined injustice. The presidency openly denied him the power of protecting his subjects, by the remission of his own duties.

He was therefore reduced to the necessity of either tamely acquiescing in their decision, or coming to an immediate rupture. The first was a meanness repugnant to his temper and principles, the second a measure which involved the most imminent difficulty and danger. He resolved, however, to enter on the task prescribed to him by these untoward circumstances, with caution and firmness. To avoid the inspection of the factory at Calcutta, he removed his court from Morshedabad to Monghir, two hundred miles higher up the Ganges. He fortified his situation with art and expedition, and enlisted all the Persians, Tartars, Armenians, and other soldiers of fortune, whose  
military

military abilities and experience might be of service to his own. Every vagabond European, and all the sepoys who had been dismissed or deserted from the English, he collected and incorporated with his troops. He changed the Indian musquets from matchlocks to firelocks, and had the ingenuity to provide his army with an excellent train of artillery. And that his movements might not be reported or rendered abortive, through treachery or dissension, he purged his court of strangers, and secretly cut off or threw into prison every considerable person in his dominions, who had shewn any attachment to the English.

These preparations sufficiently indicated his intentions. The knowledge of them threw the presidency at Calcutta into a flame. The state of his army and finances had lulled them into security; but they wisely dreaded the intelligence, the enterprise, and the fortitude of his character. Inured to the hardships of the field, he united the gallantry of the soldier with the sagacity of the statesman; and his mind, both from experience and information, was fertile in all the resources of the country, and all the expedients of military adventure.

It was by his observations on the character and foresight of this politic subah, that Mr. Hastings, who resided for some time at his court, laid the foundation of that celebrity which has since distinguished him in India and England. His opinion that Cossim Ally Cawn was driven to extremity by the temerity of the Company's servants, especially

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in the subordinate factories, has been confirmed by every authentic document transmitted from the scene of action. Vanfittart, president of the council, uniformly avowed the same conviction, and manfully opposed every outrage which, in the whole of that fatal policy, so inevitably tended to plunge the Company and the country into a fresh series of bloody and expensive hostilities. Nor did he remit his endeavours to accommodate the difference thus unhappily subsisting, till the breach, by the obstinacy of the one party, and the cruelty of the other, became absolutely irreparable.

His pacific intentions, however, were unfortunately controuled by a majority in the council, who fomented the enmities, indulged and avowed by the chief of the factory at Patna, against the nabob. Mr. Ellis, who acted in that capacity, had, in many recent instances, treated the country government with contumely and defiance. The letters of Cossim to the presidency are full of invectives against the insolence and affectation of authority which distinguished his conduct. And Mr. Ellis, in his correspondence with the board, has treated the subah with a virulence and contempt which could originate only in the most inveterate prejudice.

Mr. Ellis was, unhappily, supported in all his violence by the government in Calcutta. He commanded a force for the protection of the factory, nearly three thousand strong. With this army he surprized Patna, a large city of considerable trade, situated on the Ganges, about three hundred miles  
above

above Fort William. The assault was carried almost without resistance. But the captors were too eager after plunder, to render their success of any solid advantage to themselves or the Company. The Indian governor returned to Patna, within four hours after he had left it, re-took the place with as much ease as it had been lost, and the English troops were every where either cut to pieces, made prisoners, or driven to take refuge in the fort.

This event happened the very night in which Amyatt was dismissed from the nabob, at whose court he had been resident for some time, and where he had endeavoured, without effect, to bring Cossim to an acquiescence with the measures of the council. The conduct of this man, from a variety of circumstances, bore at best a suspicious appearance; and in his way to Calcutta, [June 24, 1763] with several other gentlemen of his party, he was treacherously assassinated by some of the nabob's people, as they passed the city of Morshedabad.

The council of Fort William immediately considered themselves as impelled to unanimity, in their own defence. The murder of their ambassador instigated revenge. First aggressors, as they were in their attack on Patna, where shoals of the innocent and industrious inhabitants fell a sacrifice to the ferocious rapacity of our troops, they allow nothing for the resentment of the natives, on account of that atrocious action, but deemed every subsequent barbarity justified by the death of Amyatt. This is made the ostensible reason of declaring

declaring war against a people of whom multitudes were massacred before that event was known, or could take place. Such an outrage to humanity and reason is the arrogance of little minds in the exercise of despotism.

Major Adams was therefore ordered to take the field, at the head of the Company's forces, and to direct his march to the capital of Bengal. Twice did the enemy dispute his approach to Morshedabad, with a fierceness and resolution superior to every exertion before observed in an Indian army. [August 2d].

This important capture might discourage, but did not disperse the enemy, Cossim did not stake his all on a single battle, but defended his dominions pass by pass. Nor did he hazard his own person in any engagement, where his officers might have made a merit of their treachery in betraying him. These errors, which had ruined so many of the Indian princes, he carefully avoided. His army, however, was still unequal to meet that of the Company, disciplined after the best manner, flushed with victory, and animated in this rich and populous country with the constant prospect of immense booty.

Soon after the two armies met on the plains of Garceah, in which the Indians appeared divided in regular brigades, with a train of fine artillery, well served; the same arms, the same accoutrements, and the same clothing as the English. Nor did they commence the cannonade till our troops began the attack. They maintained their ground  
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in an obstinate dispute of four hours constant firing. In that time they broke a part of the English army, and captured two pieces of cannon. But though twenty thousand horse, and eight thousand foot strong, they were obliged at last to quit and abandon all their cannon to the Company's forces, who did not amount to more than three thousand.

The victorious English thus left masters of the field, pursued the enemy to the gates of Monghir. This place was strongly fortified. It was the nabob's residence, and the center of all his military arrangements. It did not, however, much protract the progress of the conquerors, but surrendered after only nine days open trenches.

Coffin placed his last hope on Patna, which he had omitted no care or expence to strengthen and secure. He enforced the garrison with ten thousand men, and harrassed the extremities of the besiegers with large bodies of cavalry, which every where hovered round them.

It was about this time that the cruelties of Coffin's nature, impelled by the circumstances to which he was reduced, were chiefly discovered, by his massacre of the English prisoners in his custody. This barbarous service could only be performed by one Somers, a German of mean extraction and flagitious principles. The Indian soldiers revolted at the shocking command, and with a heroism that does them honour, desired that arms might be given to the hapless men they were ordered to murder. They were, however, compelled to the odious service. The prisoners made a brave defence,

fence, with no other weapons than their plates and their bottles, but were at last all slaughtered.

This savage manœuvre was of no advantage to Coffim. The besiegers redoubled their exertions. Patna, notwithstanding its fortifications and the repeated skirmishes which the enemy had with our troops, did not resist the attack above eight days. This reduced the nabob to abandon the province, [November 6th]. He had lost all his posts, and most of his troops. Sujah Dowlah, subah of a neighbouring province, received him with open arms, but would not permit his troops to enter his dominions. He wished to provide the unfortunate prince with an asylum, but was unwilling to bring the English into his country.

Thus ended a campaign conducted throughout with ability and expedition. Major Adams completed, in less than four months, the entire conquest of Bengal. He fought in that time four capital actions, forced the strongest entrenchments, took two considerable forts and near five hundred pieces of cannon, and totally defeated one of the most respectable and resolute enemies we ever had in India.

The remains of the Indian army, though prohibited to follow their leader, were so far from being idle, that in a short time Coffim presented his new ally with the heads of some Englishmen whom his troops had cut off and preserved, as a dreadful proof of their activity and zeal in the service. The great Mogul was now with Sujah Dowlah. This barbarous trophy probably tempted them to espouse

espouse the cause of Coffin. The council at Calcutta were, however, soon informed that these powers were resolved to reinstate him in the government of Bengal.

The president and council immediately wrote to Sujah Dowlah on the subject. They could not credit a report so derogatory to his honour, that while he professed alliance he was capable of acting with hostility. But they were solicitous to acquaint him, that in case he should take their enemies into his friendship, they were determined to protect Bengal from molestation of every kind, and that rather than involve their provinces in any fresh calamities, they would carry the war into his own country.

The Company's servants were soon satisfied that what they had heard was but too well founded. The confederacy they dreaded had actually taken place. The Mogul and Sujah Dowlah were in the field, at the head of an immense body of troops. Major Adams had resigned the command, and was since dead. Major Carnac was appointed to succeed him. The council, therefore, in their dispatches to him, urge, with great earnestness, that the war should, from that moment, be carried on offensively. The enemy left not the alternative to the English, but presented themselves in order of battle where the Major was encamped near Patna. This battle was ably fought. Carnac's little army was furiously attacked in front and rear, but proved invincible to all the swarms of fresh troops that were successively brought against them. The enemy

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was completely routed. Our troops were, however, too much fatigued to pursue. Their loss was considerable; but from a long, close, rapid, and well aimed fire, that of the confederates must have been immense.

An expedition was immediately carried into Sujah Dowlah's own country, in order to remove the ravages of war from the Ganges to the Soane. Letters were at the same time received from the king and Sujah Dowlah, with assurances that Cossim should be arrested and punished. They were answered, that nothing would reconcile the English, but the actual delivery of Cossim, Somers, and the deserters.

The moment hostilities commenced in Gazy-pour, Sujah Dowlah hastened with his army to repel the invasion. The most decisive action in the war was soon after fought at Buxar, on the banks of the Caramnassa. Major Hector Monro commanded the English army, which he had found in so mutinous a condition, that he deemed it expedient to punish the ring-leaders as an example. Twenty-four were sentenced to be blown away from the mouth of cannon. Four of these brave but unfortunate men, who were grenadiers, insisted, as they had always the post of honour, they might also have it now, and suffer first. There have been few commanders of reputation at least, with whom such a sentiment would not have saved them. But the Major was satisfied with literally indulging their request.

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He found the enemy strongly posted [October 22, 1764]. Before them lay a mass so judiciously lined with cannon, that it was impossible to approach them without being galled. The Major, however, encamped so judiciously, and with so much precaution, that the allies began the attack. The cannonade commenced at nine o'clock in the morning, and in half an hour the action became general. Before twelve, the Indians were put to flight. They left six thousand men on the spot, a hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military stores, and all their tents ready pitched.

The day after the battle, the Mogul, who had been a state prisoner in the enemy's camp, wrote a congratulatory epistle to the English commander, complimenting him on the victory. He had left Sujah Dowlah the night preceding the engagement, and now very earnestly requested to be taken under the protection of the English. The council of Calcutta consented, and his majesty soon joined our army.

The English had no sooner arrived at Bénarès, than the minister of Sujah Dowlah presented himself before the commander, with overtures of peace. Monro would listen to none which did not put Cossim and Somers in his power. This was the single condition, without which he would not treat. Several expedients were suggested, but he rejected them all as dishonourable. Pecuniary offers to an enormous amount, it is said, were also made, though with no better success. Few such instances

## TRANSACTIONS IN INDIA.

of disinterestedness shed a lustre on the military profession in that part of the world. What a pity these were not more frequent, and that such as do happen are not better authenticated.

Thus critically were the English situated, when the general being recalled, the command of the army devolved on Sir Robert Fletcher, a major in the Company's troops. Emulous to distinguish himself, before the officer named by the governor and council should arrive to preclude him, he ventured to break up his camp, under the walls of Benares, at midnight [January 14, 1765], and went in quest of the enemy, who drew up twice to receive him, and as often retreated in good order. But on his preparing for a third attack, they fled with precipitation.

On his assuming the command, the army were in a very confined situation, surrounded on all sides by the enemy, straitened for forage and provisions of all sorts. It was in direct opposition to the opinion of most of the officers serving under him, that he then put the army in motion. The measure was, however, justified by its effects. He drove Sujah ul Dowlah from all his posts, took all his fortresses, with several hundred pieces of cannon, and conquered the whole of his dominions in the space of a month.

During these transactions, Meer Jaffier died, on the fourteenth of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-five, at Murshedabad. Though a traitor to Surajah Dowlah, it was a crime to which he had been impelled by the great law of self-preservation.

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The temptation was at once too splendid and pressing for one of his parts, his principles, or his situation. He endeavoured to atone for his perfidy to the nabob, by his fidelity to the Company. The murders with which he was charged, to facilitate his ruin, were afterwards found to be the mere fabrications of malignity. He seems to have been weak in council, and irresolute in action; but his preferences, whether well or ill selected, were permanent and inflexible. He sent for his second son, the eldest having been dead some years, and while the agonies of death were yet upon him, put into his hand a paper of advice. He very naturally recommended the Rajah Nundcomar, his favourite, to continue prime minister, that his successor might enjoy the benefit of his experience. All the resident English were sent for, with all the great officers of state. In their presence he desired that orders might be given that all people throughout the subahship, should tender the same loyalty to his son, Najim ul Dowlah, as they had done to him.

The servants of the Company paid as little deference to the will of the deceased as they had done to his orders while living. The successor he nominated was adopted only from a certainty that they could not have made a better, as it would have been dangerous to risk another choice. Indeed the accession of Najim ul Dowlah to the musnud, seems to have been chiefly improved for the purpose of intrigue and extortion.

Early in the beginning of the same year Lord Clive arrived in India, in consequence of being

requested by the proprietors, on account of the abuses prevailing in their new acquisitions, to take upon him the station of president, and command of the Company's military force in Bengal. In order the more effectually to answer the purpose of this extraordinary delegation, a select committee of five gentlemen was also appointed. By this institution, whatever reformation appeared necessary was to be adopted; and the board of council only occasionally consulted. And it was not long till his lordship discovered a strong inclination to extend the Company's authority over the whole Mogul empire, and to retain that immense acquisition by an invincible force.

Sujah Dowlah was still in the field. Abandoned by the Mogul, and without confidence in his army, which had fled so frequently before the English, divested of the dignity and authority of vizier, and wasted by frequent and bloody defeats, he was not, however, without resources, in his own activity and resolution. He gathered his scattered forces with great assiduity, and procured a formidable reinforcement from the Marratto states. With this army he determined once more to face the Company's forces.

General Carnae, who had succeeded Colonel Monro in the command, assembled his troops, and marched immediately to the attack. The engagement happened at Calpy [May 20, 1765]. The enemy were routed with a great slaughter, and obliged, with precipitation, to re-cross the Jumna, and take refuge in their own country.

Sujah.



Sujah Dowlah, driven to the last extremity, embraced the bold resolution of throwing himself, without hesitation, on the mercy of the English. Having, with a fidelity unusual in that country, permitted Cossim and Somers to escape, he surrendered himself, in three days after this decisive action, to General Carnac, without any other stipulation in his favour than to wait the determination of Lord Clive and the select committee.

Thus were two of the most powerful princes of Indostan reduced to the melancholy necessity, the one of wandering as a fugitive, deprived by his own cruelty of every prospect of mercy from the conquerors; the other, after the loss of his country, of making the most abject submission to those who had usurped his rights, surrendering himself a prisoner at discretion, and feeling the mortification of owing his life to the authors of all his misfortunes.

The camp of Alexander the Great was not more splendid, while the family of Darius were his captives, than that of Carnac on this occasion. The first and second personages of the greatest empire in the world were both in his custody, and at the disposal of his masters, the servants of a company of British merchants.

It had been formerly resolved to put the Mogul in possession of Sujah Dowlah's dominions. But Clive, who went to the English camp at Allahabad, to settle that important treaty, was satisfied of its impropriety. Besides driving Sujah Dowlah to despair, and combining the powers of the empire

in his defence, the Mogul did not appear sufficiently qualified for that critical and hazardous situation. Sujah Dowlah was beloved by his people. His character was every where resolute, enterprising and popular. While his friendship for the English continued, he would prove an insuperable barrier, and effectually protect the Company's territories against all depredations from that quarter. It was on this policy that he was restored to all his hereditary dominions [August 3, 1765]. The surrender of Cossim and Somers was no longer in his power. The one had found an asylum among the Rohillas, and the other among the Jauts. He offered, however, to pay fifty lacks of rupees, to indemnify the Company for the expences incurred by the war.

The negociation with the king was also concluded in a few days. His majesty granted the Company the dewanee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittigong, and the twenty-four Pergunnahs of Calcutta, ceded to them by three successive nabobs, the five Northern Circars of Cicacole, and new confirmations of all their former privileges. For these immense favours the Company engaged to pay the king, from the revenues of Bengal, three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds annually, and the nabob Najim ul Dowlah, in lieu of the aggregate produce of his government, assigned to them by his imperial majesty, the sum of six hundred twenty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-six pounds.

Lord

Lord Clive enumerates the advantages of these transactions, in his dispatches to the Directors [Sept. 30, 1765], in the following terms:—"Your revenues, by means of this new acquisition, will, as near as I can judge, not fall far short, for the ensuing year, of two hundred and fifty lacks. Hereafter, they will, at least, amount to twenty or thirty lacks more. The nabob's allowances are reduced to forty-two lacks, and the tribute to the king is fixed at twenty-six, and your civil and military expences, in time of peace, can never exceed sixty lacks. So that there will be remaining a clear gain to the Company of a hundred and twenty-two lacks, or one million six hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred pounds sterling a-year."

The business of this committee, at the head of which his lordship presided, consisted chiefly of accomplishing the treaties now mentioned. The Directors heartily approve of the bargain which Clive has made for them, and only wish to render these acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom can make them.

The luxury, however, which had taken possession of all the Company's servants was also an object of consideration, and the committee state it as bearing a threatening aspect to the prosperity of the Company's affairs. The Directors frankly admit the truth of this observation, and acknowledge, that they owe it entirely to the committee, that the Company are at last considered as principals in the advantages as well as dangers.

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The committee having assigned the revenues to the Company, were afraid that their servants, unless provided with some other mode of enriching themselves, might do it at the expence of their employers. For this reason they established a society of trade, with an exclusive right to supply the natives with salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco. On these articles they laid a duty, calculated to produce a hundred thousand pounds a-year to the revenue. The profits of this trade they divided among the members of the society, consisting of the Company's civil and military servants.

This regulation did not prove quite so acceptable to the Board of Directors. Not that they wished to see abolished those ancient duties which constituted part of the public resources. The adjustment of these was referred to the discretion of the committee. But they deprecated the consequences arising from innovations in the inland traffic. Nor were they disposed to admit the continuance of them on any condition whatever. And they cautioned the committee against permitting the natives to be oppressed by any such severe exactions.

This is a summary but substantial account of the correspondence which took place between the Court of Directors and the select committee. Thus the Company's servants in India saw their masters in Europe receive the news of their successful rebellion against the government of the empire with approbation, thankfully accept of a gift of the revenues, and make no scruple to a continuance of the duties on salt and other articles. They had, therefore,

fore, this double motive to persist in their extortion, the example of their superiors, and the custom of the country.

On Lord Clive's return to England [July, 1767], the conduct of the committee, in which he presided, was severely arraigned, especially by the friends of the gentlemen who composed the council in Bengal. The recrimination which ensued was mutual, tedious, and uninteresting. One party asserted, that when Lord Clive originally appeared in Calcutta, the Company were merely an association of merchants struggling for existence. One of their factories was in ruins, their agents were assassinated, and an army of fifty thousand men, to which they had nothing to oppose, threatened the immediate destruction of their principal settlement. His lordship left India about ten years afterwards, and in that time his masters in Leadenhall-street, chiefly by his measures and exertions, had become powerful princes, possessed of vast revenues, and ruling over fifteen millions of people.

On the other hand, it ought to be recollected, that the war of India, in which his victories were then conspicuous, was a scene where many other distinguished characters appeared, and acted their parts. The formidable combination which espoused the interests of Coſſim Ally Cawn, were utterly dispersed, their territories conquered, and their chiefs reduced to a dependence on the English army, without his lordship's assistance. The select committee only ratified the treaties which resulted from these campaigns, though his lordship, with a characteristic

raſterific modeſty, arrogated the merit of the whole to his own endeavours.

Not to mention how he availed himſelf of his official ſituation, while in India, in favour of his pecuniary tranſactions in England; Sir Robert Fletcher, in a letter which appeared in one of the daily papers [October 26, 1773], roundly aſſerts; “ That the noble lord’s civil regulations conſiſted  
“ chiefly of ſuch as were beſt calculated ſpeedily to  
“ enrich himſelf and every creature round him. A  
“ monopoly in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and a  
“ gold currency, ſeventeen or twenty per cent. were  
“ eſtabliſhed, and enforced by ſevere penalties, ri-  
“ gorouſly carried into execution, to the deſtruction  
“ of the trade and the ruin of the conſtitution.”

The ſource of this keen altercation aroſe from the charges of peculation which his lordſhip brought againſt ſeveral eminent members of the council. His jaghire being litigated by the Court of Directors, covenants were framed at home, prohibiting the reception of preſents from the natives of India, except on the Company’s account. All their ſervants in their various ſettlements, were forthwith required to acquieſce in this reſtriction, by ſigning theſe covenants. Several gentlemen of the council in Fort William, who had been chiefly concerned in the two late revolutions, and particularly in raiſing the preſent nabob to the nizamat, received conſiderable ſums on that occaſion. Lord Clive, who had ſet the example, in his tranſactions with Meer Jaffer, and whoſe conduct determined the Company to check the practice, yet crimina-  
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it in them, with all the harshness and acrimony of an immaculate reformer. They deny not that the nabob had distributed money on his accession. They justify their receiving it from precedent and custom. They complain of the covenants as imposing a hardship, from which their predecessors had all been exempted. They are aware, at the same time, that the remedy is inadequate to the disease, as the greatest presents might be broken down into such a number of parts, as totally to elude the prohibition. They state, that these pecuniary gifts were obtained before the covenants were executed on their part. They impute his lordship's zeal in prosecuting this officious inquisition, to other motives than either their guilt or his fidelity. They give a colouring to the whole proceedings of that famous committee, which leaves an obloquy on the character of all its members.

Indeed, to all the rhodomantade with which the noble lord, and his creatures, trumpeted forth the efficacy of his measures, and the profound sagacity with which he explored the evils that existed, and the most probable means of restoring tranquillity and order, it was replied by various queries, to which, in these heroic times, no solution was deigned. The public, however, hesitated, whether the merit of composing the disturbances in Bengal belonged to Lord Clive, and his select committee, or to the gentlemen who expelled Cossim Ally Cawn, and conquered Sujah Dowlah? Or, whether the praises of making peace with Sujah Dowlah were due to those who conquered his dominions,

dominions, and made himself a prisoner; or to the person by whom those dominions, which are nearly as large as England, were restored for six hundred thousand pounds, at the same time yielding up Gauzypour and Benares, which brought into the Company's treasury two hundred and thirty thousand pounds a-year? Or, whether censure might not rather be incurred for raising civil and military mutinies, by the assumption of illegal power, than thanks for quelling them? Or, whether it could be supposed that an army which defeated Cossim Ally Cawn, and Sujah Dowlah, was entirely devoid of discipline and subordinatton? Or, whether the boasted re-establishment of order and obedience might not, after all, be deemed a useless parade of generals and colonels? Or, what real honour can be claimed for obtaining the dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, under a violation of the most sacred engagements, merely by the signature of a prince who must equally have signed his own death-warrant, if it had been presented to him?

What are we left to conclude from these implacable dissensions, but that great and flagrant enormities subsisted at that time among the Company's servants; that we owe the discovery of many important and interesting details of frauds and abuse of trust, to the petulance and animosity occasioned by the distribution of the plunder; that the Direction never acted from sounder policy than in thus empowering one of the first and most enterprising in this iniquitous combination or conspiracy,



spiry, to detect the profligacy of the whole, and give evidence against them ; that most of the Company's difficulties have originated in rendering the political subservient to the mercantile system ; that their servants being without interest in the effects of their own measures, renders them obnoxious to irresistible temptation ; that most of the enormous delinquencies for which they have been blamed, are the natural, perhaps unavoidable consequences of their situation ; and that many of those who have been most violent and boisterous in their criminations, would probably, thus circumstanced, not have acted a better part.

CHAP.

## C H A P T E R III.

*The Company's affairs an object of public enquiry—  
 Their bargain with Government—Debates on their  
 situation in Parliament—Their Dividend restrained  
 —Consequences—A Reflection—Amount of their  
 Debits and Revenues at this period.*

THE vast extent of territory, and the prodigious mass of wealth acquired by the Company's arms, on the banks of the Ganges, became a source of contention, as well at home as abroad. The proprietors, who saw their servants accumulating princely fortunes, in the exercise of powers delegated from them, eagerly panted for a participation in the distribution of the prize. They could not reconcile their low dividend with the accounts incessantly transmitted from India, of immense revenues, and a flourishing trade.

The Court of Directors were of a different opinion. Two violent factions were consequently and immediately formed. One of these was for increasing the dividend, the other insisted on keeping it at six per cent. The proprietors considered only the success, the directors saw nothing but the debts of the Company. The former were determined to bring the matter to issue by a general vote at the Midsummer court, but were disappointed by the manœuvres of the latter.

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This vigorous altercation between the members of the direction and their constituents, afforded much public speculation and discussion. It was strenuously argued by one party, that though the advantages of the Company were numerous and splendid, their measures both civil and military, the multiplicity of their arrangements, and the contingencies incident to their various establishments, occasioned the most enormous expenditure; that their profits were comparatively remote and precarious, while their debts were urgent and inevitable, and that in the first instance, at least, their surplus, whatever it might be, should be sacredly appropriated to liquidate and discharge their intumbrances.

The other party were far from being satisfied by this reasoning. No trading company, they alledged, could ever hope to be without debt, which must always be supposed to increase in a certain proportion to the magnitude of the capital, and the extent of the system in which it was employed. The creditors of the Company who were most interested had no objections to its security. This fact was evinced by the present state of exchange. The Company's bonds bore a premium, and sold for more than their value. Those who had risked their property during the war, while the whole was at stake, might be obliged to sell out, and new purchasers would reap all that benefit to which the former were so justly entitled. In this manner the possessors of India stock were excluded from enjoying the emoluments arising from its natural

tural and necessary produce, as operating in their peculiar system of commerce.

These interesting topics were liberally and frequently agitated, not only in private or select companies, and among friends, but in all the periodical miscellanies of the times, and in multitudes of other temporary publications. The dispute was of peculiar importance, more especially to the mercantile part of the community. The anxieties, the industry, and the heat of both parties, increased as the next quarterly meeting approached. It was at the same time whispered by great confidence, that government intended to interfere.— And a few days before the Michaelmas General Court of 1766, the minister actually sent a message to the Directors. It was then read from the chair to the proprietors at large. The message was from the first lord of the treasury, in these words:—  
 “ As the affairs of the East-India Company had  
 “ been mentioned in Parliament last session, it  
 “ was very probable they might be taken into  
 “ consideration again; therefore, from the regard  
 “ he had for the welfare of the Company, and that  
 “ they might have time to prepare their papers for  
 “ that occasion, he informed them, that the par-  
 “ liament would meet some time in November.”

Letters were at the same time read, from Lord Clive, and the secret committee at Bengal, which greatly exceeded all former accounts of the Company's opulence, the prosperity of its trade, and the permanent basis on which its interests were established. The Directors, notwithstanding, opposed

fed an increase in the dividend. It was urged with accumulated force by the proprietors. A ballot was demanded, and a division for a day or two evaded. But another general court being called, the question was put, and the dividend to take place from the ensuing Christmas increased, by a prodigious majority, from six to ten per cent.

On the meeting of Parliament [Nov. 25, 1766] the menaces of the minister were realized. The affairs of the Company were subjected to the cognizance of a committee appointed by the House. It was ordered in a few days, and after a very interesting debate, that copies of the Company's charters, their grants from the native princes, their treaties, their letters and correspondence to and from their servants in India, the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and other places, should all be laid on the table, with an account of all expences incurred by government on the Company's account, whether in the naval, military, or whatever other departments. This order was followed with another, that these papers be printed for the use of the members. \*

The Court of Directors immediately presented a petition to parliament, in opposition to a measure which they shewed would be attended with irreparable mischief to the Company. A motion was consequently made to discharge the former order. A debate ensued, but it was at last agreed, that the private correspondence should not be printed.

\* Debret's Parliamentary Register for 1766.

On this occasion, the interesting point of territorial right, in consequence of the Company's charter, was warmly and ably debated. The arguments on both sides appeared separately so unanswerable, and the question involved so many points of the greatest constitutional importance, that the House seemed averse to a decision. The general opinion was against a trial of such a right, in such a place; and that an amicable agreement with the Company was the more eligible measure.

Administration was at this time in too much distraction to investigate or settle a subject of such magnitude. By their declining to take any part in the negotiation out of Parliament, a petition, containing two proposals, was presented [May 20].

It was proposed that government should grant the Company some advantages from the inland duties on teas; a drawback on the export of them to Ireland and the colonies; and others on raw silk, calicoes, muslins, the recruiting service, and military stores. After deducting 400,000*l.* a year in lieu of their former profits, the Company were to divide equally with government all the net produce of the remaining revenues and trade, provided charges were not included, and the Company's property, in the new acquisitions, continued for three years. Or it was proposed, that the Company, on the same terms, should continue the specific sum of 400,000*l.* a year, for three years, by half-yearly payments, and indemnify the public for any loss the revenue might suffer, by granting the advantages required in the tea-trade, if the consumption

tion of it, taken on an average of five years, did not answer that end.

These last proposals were accepted by the House with only this difference, that the agreement was limited to two, instead of three years. A bill was therefore brought in [June 12, 1767], and adopted by the legislature, for carrying the measure into immediate effect \*.

Another message from the minister had been read at the general court, restricting the increase of the dividend, and recommending to the Company to admit no farther augmentation till their affairs were more fully investigated. This measure not producing the intended alteration, two bills were framed and brought forward, one for regulating the qualifications for voters in trading companies, and one for further regulating the dividends of the East-India Company.

The last of these actually rescinded the act of the Company, and tied them down from raising their dividends above ten per cent. till next meeting of Parliament. This met with great opposition. All the former arguments were renewed and urged with peculiar ardour and obstinacy. The Company petitioned against it without effect, and even offered, though to no better purpose, that, to defeat a bill thus hostile to their privileges, they would voluntarily bind themselves from any additional increase of their dividend during the whole term of their agreement.

\* Deane's Parliamentary Register for 1767.

The abettors of the bill rested its defence for the most part on their anxiety to prevent a fluctuation of stock, and to preserve the credit of the Company inviolate. The public funds might be affected and kept down, and by that means the national debt would be increased, rather than diminished. This measure would at the same time defeat that spirit of speculation and gambling which might otherwise be expected. It would also guard the revenue of the Company's territorial acquisitions against encroachments so effectually, that the claim of the public might not be injured, till the right of these acquisitions should be finally settled.

The bill was charged by opposition with injustice and violence. They denied that any fluctuation could take place, or that the credit of the Company could be injured by the proprietors apportioning their dividends to the situation of their affairs. The proposal made by the Company answered all the purposes for which the bill was intended. It was absurd, that the owners of the capital should not be able to divide 80,000 l. among themselves, on a trade which afforded government 400,000 l. It was altogether without example in the annals of a free country, that the legislature should interpose a controul over the dividend of a trading Company, legally voted, and declared by those to whom the power of doing it was entrusted, and to whom there was no ground to impute an abuse of that power. They had lent their money to the public upon the express condition of using their discretion in their dividends, provided their effects undivided continued equal to their debts.—

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It was a precedent that might be attended with the most fatal consequences to national credit, as it tended to lessen that security and independence of the power of the state, which had induced all Europe to deposit their money in the funds.

No reasoning, however, is of much use against a majority in the House of Commons. Men warped by the prepossessions of party, are on neither side open to conviction. The bill passed by a great majority [June 26th]. It met with still more opposition in the House of Lords, but was carried, though a protest was entered against it, signed by nineteen lords.

In the course of these proceedings, a variety of facts were produced, which strongly excited the curiosity and attention of the public mind. The richness of the country was exaggerated, and deemed inexhaustible. The natives were described, notwithstanding, as the most abject wretches on earth. Oppressions and enormities of the most odious and shocking nature were imputed to the servants of the Company. The opulence and luxury which they displayed on their return to Europe, were naturally construed into a proof of the grossest peculation and extortion. The despotism exercised with so much severity in all our settlements, and their respective dependencies, was not only abhorrent to the feelings of a free people, but considered as an indelible stain on the British character. And though the splendour and magnitude of the whole complex system formed an object peculiarly interesting and attractive, especially while the

nation was yet in a state of intoxication from the brilliant success of the late war, the rapacity of individuals, the expence of a military and civil arrangement, the debts and dividends of the Company, the contingencies of commerce, and the intrigues of government, gave no very sanguine hopes of an immediate and adequate advantage to the community at large.

The most unpopular part of the business was what the opposition, all over the kingdom, branded as an unconstitutional interference of ministry. The clamour of the public kept pace with the grasp of government. The prosperity of the Company, their patronage and emoluments, excited the envy, and tempted the ambition and avarice of prerogative. The revenues seemed adequate to all the purposes of corruption, and the employments once entrusted to the disposal of the crown, would strengthen and extend the influence of its servants, by an increase of their dependence.

Various measures were adopted for invading and subverting the rights of the Company. The emissaries of ministry were instructed to propagate a report that the monopoly should be destroyed, and the trade laid open. Several trading towns were even instigated to petition parliament for that purpose. The sophistry by which the patience of the public was reconciled to these outrages was, that the Company owed most of its success to the exertions of government; that the dominion of the sea was preserved by the king's ships, and the battles on land fought by his armies. From this it was

concluded, that the prodigious expence of the public in extending the property, ought to be compensated by an adequate share in the profits of the Company. But the nation was aware, at the same time, that there were not more able commanders, nor braver troops, nor in any respect a better appointed, disciplined, or directed army in the world, than those who reared the Company's standard in the fields of Indostan.

The whole expence incurred by the treasury, on the Company's account, according to official statement, amounted to about a million and a half. Their commerce was calculated, on an average, to contribute to the revenue about one million four hundred pounds a-year, besides four hundred thousand pounds, in consequence of the late bargain. Thus, while the public was burdened with four millions and a half by the Company, the Company discharged the public of the interest of about fifty millions. By this calculation the balance in favour of the public, and against the Company, exceeded the interest of forty-seven millions. The Company, in fact, paid at that moment more than a third of the interest of the whole national debt.

Symptoms of an approaching diminution in the source of this extraordinary opulence, were already appearing. It was only while the minds of the people were fired with the marvellous relation of travellers, while report operated on these remote occurrences, as a telescope does on objects beyond the reach of the natural eye, and while individuals, disguised by the sudden and unaccountable posses-

sion of excessive riches, excited universal attention and surprise, that even this fund was deemed inexhaustible. But when general admiration began to subside and give way to accurate calculation and a simple statement of facts, it became a very serious and interesting consideration, that notwithstanding all our recent acquisitions in India, and the vast influx of wealth which it occasioned in the British empire, the burthens under which the nation groaned received no sensible alleviation. Adventurers whose necessities, avarice, ambition, or insignificance, had driven them from their native country, rose not only to independence in a short time, but in equipage rivalled, on their return, the greatest families in the kingdom; at the same time that their manners exhibited a strange contrast between plebeian habits and Asiatic luxury. Four hundred thousand pounds, besides the immense sums accruing from custom on the various articles of East-India trade, was an yearly accession to the treasury, peculiarly seasonable and important. These advantages were, however, restricted to a few individuals; but the pressure of the taxes was general, and, to many orders of the community, almost insupportable. The public had consequently the mortification to perceive, the moment they came to their senses, that all their sanguine expectations of relief from the oppressions arising from the expenditure occasioned by the late war, from such a splendid appendage to the British empire, had vanished like a South-Sea bubble; and that it was, on the whole, an object which would  
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ultimately prove rather pernicious than beneficial, by the venality of the Company's servants on the one hand, and the rapacity of government on the other. The booty was immense, and more than adequate to public exigence; but its passage lay between the gulph of Charybdis and the shore of the Cyclops.

The object which the ministry pretended to have, and which the Company at this time certainly had most at heart, the liquidation of their accumulating debt, seemed also exceedingly remote, perhaps altogether impracticable, without a radical change of system. Their debt was then nearly seven millions sterling. The gross annual revenue of their trade, their farms, their customs, and their territories, amounted to two millions, eighty-seven thousand, seven hundred and forty-seven pounds. A sum thus enormous, and susceptible of improvement, might indeed have afforded a sinking-fund sufficient to have speedily rescued the Company from every embarrassment, but not without putting an immediate end to every species of embezzlement in the management of their finances.

CHAP.

## C H A P T E R IV.

*Hyder Ally's lineage and power—He quarrels with the Company—A comparative statement of the Disputants—Battle of Trinomaly—Hyder ravages the Carnatic—Appears at the gates of Madrafs—Peace concluded—An estimate of the war—Supervisors appointed—A new bargain with Government.*

**HYDER ALLY CAWN** was the son of Nadim Saib, general of ten thousand horse in the army of the empire. He was employed to head the Mysoreans when they took the field against the Marrattos. He fought that warlike people, and routed them in a pitched battle. The king of Mysore gave him the country and fortrefs of Banguelor, as a reward of his bravery. This enabled him to appear in the Mysorean army, at the head of his own troops.

Hyder was then about twenty-one years old, and his father gave him the command of the forces with which, as a tributary, he was obliged to follow the camp of the subah, when [in the year 1750] he made a descent on the coast of Coromandel. It consisted only of fifty horsemen, and two hundred infantry, armed with matchlocks. He was at the battle where Nazirjing was slain, and then conceived the idea of training his battalion in the European discipline.

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The first occasion on which he merited distinction was in his contest with Canero, the prime-minister and favourite of the Myforean sovereign. He was then, by the death of his brother, in possession of an important fortress, a fertile territory, and a body of troops, which amounted to fifteen thousand men, including three hundred Europeans, and three thousand excellent cavalry. The king had also appointed him generalissimo of all his troops.

His generosity, his address, his high spirit, and a love of glory, rendered him obnoxious to the hatred and jealousy of Canero. This man became odious, in proportion to the popularity of Hyder, whom he ardently wished to ruin. Instead, however, of being able to realize his intentions, the genius of Hyder surmounted every snare that was laid by the dark intrigues of his implacable adversary, tore him at last from the bosom of his master, and shut him up in an iron cage, in the middle of the most public place of Bangalore, where it is still seen with the bones of this unhappy man, who lived two years as a spectacle of barbarous triumph, thus constantly exposed to the insults of the populace in the interest of Hyder.

The course of his victories, from this success, was rapid and extraordinary. The terror of his arms rendered his alliance an object of attention and solicitude to most of the princes in the peninsula of India. Like all great men in that country, he was at once a soldier and a politician, and accumulated his acquisitions as much by the wisdom

dom of his treaties, as by the ardour and vigour of his military exertions.

His connections in the Carnatic alarmed the presidency of Madras. They did not think the Company's settlements perfectly secure, while an armament, thus formidable, encamped in their neighbourhood. They wished to sound his intentions, and for that purpose apprised him in the most respectful terms, that they had appointed an embassy to wait upon him, and confer with his Highness on several particulars between them, which the interest of both required to be more explicitly understood. But, suspicious of their design, he declined the honour they intended him. Aware, at the same time, of their intrigues with the subah, he artfully detached him from their interest, and even prevailed on him to appoint his son nabob of Arcot, in opposition to Mahommed Ally, the steady friend and ally of the English.

Having accomplished this object, he transmitted a memorial to his resident at Madras, to be presented by him to the governor. He strongly protested that his inclinations were pacific. He enumerated the instances of respect which he had uniformly shewn the Company, and complained that his good offices were returned in a manner that indicated no desire in the presidency to cultivate or preserve his friendship. He attributed it to the intrigues of Mahommed Ally, that their force had united with that of the nizam, to disappoint his projects, and curb his rapacity. He warned the Company against continuing their alliance with a man whose ambition



sion had so often embroiled the country, or involving themselves in the defence of his usurpations. He urged them to withdraw their forces from such strong holds as were connected with the Arcot provinces. He even offered to indemnify them for what arrears might be due to them from their ally, and in lieu of which they were in possession of so many forts and districts.

In consequence of Hyder's union with the nizam, the Company was rendered a principal in the quarrel. The depredations which he imputed to them, they shifted from their own shoulders to those of the nizam, under whom they acted as allies, and for whose measures they did not acknowledge themselves responsible. They apprised Hyder of the nizam's perfidy, and referred to his breach of treaty with them, as a proof how dangerous it was to confide in him. They disclaimed all intentions of hostility against the Mysore country, of which he was governor. They avowed themselves solicitous to protect the Carnatic from molestation, and thought such places on its frontiers as were necessary to render it secure, should be continued in their possession. They invited him to a correspondence on these particulars, that their mutual good understanding might be solidly established. But they did not fail, at the same time, to make him sensible that they were adequate to their own defence, and equally prepared to fight or negotiate.

It was indeed obvious, that Hyder only wished to wound the Company through their ally, and by one masterly exertion to crush their growing influence

fluence, which had now become an object of jealousy and terror to all the powers in the empire. Their late conquest of Bengal, their reduction of Sujah ul Dowlah to an abject vassalage, the chains they had forged for the imperial family, the many dishonourable obligations which Mahommed Ally owed to their interference, and especially the very lofty tone in which they continued to assert their claims of violence and outrage, were considerations peculiarly alarming to all the various states and dependencies in the Deccan, and on the coast of Corromandel.

These Hyder pressed by letters and ambassadors in the several courts of the nabobs and polygars, all over that division of the empire. And there wanted not the most substantial arguments to warrant the confederacy which he wished to establish. The English were intruders on their rights. The part they acted was equally daring and insidious. The advantages which they owed to indulgence were converted to the purposes of fraud, oppression, and even sedition. The country, which embraced and cherished them as traders, had found them to be usurpers. Under the semblance of harmless mercantile pursuits, they concealed the dreadful implements of murder and devastation. They came to deal with the natives for the produce of the climate and the soil, their manufactures and superfluities, and had stript their country of its wealth, inhabitants, fertility and honour. In exchange for the treasures they transmitted to Europe, they had deluged the infatuated kingdoms of Indostan with all their own hereditary vices,

vices, diseases and miseries! The princes whom credulity or misfortune had put in their power, had been treated merely as an article of merchandise, and worth no more than they yielded to the general stock of their aggregate interest. Their treacheries were in proportion to their protestations and forms of fidelity. They valued no ties, any farther than they administered to their rapacity, which, notwithstanding all their professions, was evidently the sole governing principle of their politics.

Facts thus notorious and interesting, united under the banners of Hyder the most discordant powers, whom nothing but a sense of their common danger could have restrained from reciprocal insult. His army was therefore composed of all that variety of tribes, foreigners and fugitives, which are to be found in such diversity among the Indians. The possessions of Hyder were at this time numerous and extensive. They consisted of Mysoor and Banguelore, with all those mountaneous countries which fill up that vast track of the Peninsula, which reaches from Amboor to Madura, Travancore, and the coast of Malabar. The kingdoms of Ballapour, Bishnagar, and Canaree, together with the sovereignty of the Malabar coast and Maldivè islands. These dominions were connected together, and defended on the part of the English, by a variety of high grounds and narrow passes, and are said to contain nearly one thousand fortified places. The camp of this celebrated warrior, whom fame hailed as the saviour of India,

was instantly crowded with prodigious swarms from these immense and populous territories. His forces were consequently estimated at two hundred thousand men, of which twenty-five thousand were cavalry, and seven hundred and fifty good European troops. The subah of the Deccan brought likewise into the field at least one hundred thousand, though of these there were no more than forty thousand fighting men, thirty thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry. Every chief, however, in this great army, was proprietor and absolute master of his own troops. Following Nizam merely as vassals of the empire, they were little disposed to risk their lives, or that of their estate, on any occasion, except when instigated by the desire of revenge, or the hope of plunder.

The united army, comprehending such multitudes were, according to the custom of the country, followed by shoals of merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, women, sutlers and servants. This occasioned the camp to be vastly extended, which, but for the vigilance and experience of Hyder, might have been easily surpris'd by the English. The forces of Nizam added to his reputation, and might have procured him many allies, but he was suspicious both of the subah and his general. The chiefs in this division of the army were in eternal want of money, and Hyder was too economical to gratify their pecuniary demands, at an expence which, by draining his treasury, might have enfeebled his operations:

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A very considerable train of artillery, consisting at least of one hundred and ten pieces of large cannon, was an object which increased the strength of this formidable armament. That of Hyder was more numerous, better provided with ammunition, better mounted, and better served; but, out of sixty pieces of ordnance, thirty were iron. The artillery of Nizam, on the contrary, were all fine European brass cannon. . Thirty of these were cast in France, and had been wrecked with a French squadron, by a hurricane, in the road of Masulipatam, and by that means came into the Nizam's possession, as his predecessors were then proprietors of the port. This beautiful artillery, however, was rendered almost useless, for want of ammunition, carriages and gunners.

The English power in India was now in its meridian. They possessed Bengal, the richest, most fertile, and populous of all the provinces in the empire; the coasts of Orissa and Corromandel, having no other limits inland than the gates or mountains, the large towns of Cambay and Surat, the island of Bombay and the country of Salfette, on the Marratto frontier, besides several inferior forts on the coast of Malabar, with a number of subordinate factories on the island of Sumatra, too remote to be of any advantage in the present war. Their forces on all these various establishments were then reckoned not less than ninety thousand strong. General Smith, who had the command of the army, after leaving the necessary garrisons properly enforced, had at his disposal five thousand Europeans,

peans, two thousand five hundred sipoys, two thousand five hundred horse, including two hundred Europeans, twelve hundred Indians, taught the English exercise, and commanded by European officers. He was also joined by the cavalry of Mahommed Ally, a troop not only inferior to that of Hyder, in point of number, but every way unfit to force them, by their utter want of discipline, and the bad condition of the horse. The other troops of the English allies were altogether in conjunction with those under the nabob of Arcot, about twenty thousand men.

General Smith was at the head of an army, for the most part better disciplined, and more practised in their evolutions than the enemy. He had a numerous corps of Europeans, who were such veterans in the service as to be deemed invincible. His artillery was in every respect perfect in proportion to its size. The army was served with a variety of able officers and engineers, and he was himself much superior to Hyder in military science and experience. But the inferiority of his cavalry obliged him to fix the scene of his operations to the mountaneous part of the country. It was not in his power to prevent the enemy's horse from ravaging the valleys, and cutting off his convoys. Nor could he always procure a sufficient number of oxen for the conveyance of his artillery, ammunition and baggage. The chief obstruction to his success, however, arose from his subordination to the council in Madras, whose dictates often clashed with his plans; whose selfish manœuvres reduced  
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the army to dependance on contractors for subsistence, and whose supplies were as uncertain and dilatory as their orders were contradictory and impracticable.

While Hyder was employed in amusing the Company with terms of negociation, his preparations were carried on with the utmost vigour and dispatch. The circumstances, however indispensable to the march of an Indian army, have always given the European forces great advantages on the commencement of hostilities. General Smith was in the field, and had reduced several forts of the enemy before the main body of the troops made their appearance. Tripatoor, Vaniambady, and Singueman, held out each a few days, but were severally captured without much difficulty. Caveripatnam, a place of some consequence, from its situation, was also invested. Its fortress was commanded by an able officer, and did not yield till seventeen days after the trenches were opened, and then only from seeing no prospect or possibility of relief. Without losing a moment, the army set down before Kistnagerri. This is a fort of no inconsiderable strength. It stands on the brow of a steep mountain, and is rendered almost impregnable by nature, without any material assistance from art. The garrison was commanded by a European, and made a brave defence. The British troops assaulted it twice, in the last of which twenty-four grenadiers and several soldiers were killed.

The distance of this place from Banguelore is about twenty-two leagues; and General Smith, learning by his scouts, that the two subahs had begun their march from that part of the country, thought it improper to waste more time in an acquisition of so little consequence, especially as it was connected with so much danger. He therefore raised the siege, and posted himself to defend the pass of Vellore. It was of the last importance to render this entrance to the Arcot districts as difficult as possible. There were two others, but this which opens about four leagues from Caveripatnam, was the only one through which artillery could be conveniently conveyed. And being in the center with Caveripatnam, a considerable town and fortress situated on the Palier, in their rear, our army could either dispute the pass with the subahs, or retire in safety.

It was however determined in a council of war, which Hyder consulted on the occasion, to avoid this passage, and to attempt that of Ventigerri. No sooner were the movements of the enemy announced to General Smith, than he broke up his camp, and hastened to prevent them. Hyder, perceiving his aim, turned suddenly to the right, and by the adroitness of the evolution, and an expeditious march, cleared the entrance, which, though even ground, is long, narrow, and winding, without opposition or annoyance.

The English, disappointed by such an unexpected manœuvre, repaired as quickly as possible to Caveripatnam, where they did not think it expedient



pedient to stay, but reinforcing the garrison with twelve hundred sepoy, a few topasses belonging to the artillery, and thirty European cannoniers, posted themselves in a situation more convenient for receiving convoys from Madras, as well as a junction with the troops under the command of Colonel Wood, who then besieged the fort of Ahtore.

Hyder having passed the straits, encamped about a league and an half from Caveripatnam, which was immediately invested by his cavalry. The town is surrounded by an antique wall and a rampart, with strong stone towers. The Palier washes part of its walls; but this river, which is very broad, was not then above a foot deep. The inhabitants, terrified by the hostile appearance on the plains, immediately evacuated and set fire to the town. The Indian army, breaking loose from all restraint, rushed to the plunder. The cannon from the fort made prodigious slaughter among the pillagers. Next morning the enemy opened a battery of twenty pieces, with a view to silence the garrison, and which did much execution. But the English poured an incessant storm of cannon and musquetry from the bastions, which killed an immense number of men, and would certainly have dislodged the battery, had they not been so much galled by multitudes of marksmen, who hid themselves behind some ruins, that it was impossible to stand on the rampart. This destructive fire obliged the garrison to hoist their flag. Hyder refused nothing that was demanded. The troops

marched out with the honours of war, and were permitted to direct their route for Madras, without molestation.

The united army, shortly after this, encamping on the banks of the Palier, obliged General Smith to change his position. He moved towards a rising ground, that the enemy's cavalry might not have it in their power to harass him with the same advantage. Hyder instantly ordered an attack. It was bravely sustained on both sides. The English army were but a handful to the infinite swarm of assailants who surrounded and invested them from all sides of the hill which they occupied. The enemy's infantry were supported by all Hyder's artillery, while ours, by the difficulty of pointing downwards, were less capable of a sure aim. The superior excellence of the British gunners sufficiently compensated for this disadvantage. The Europeans in the service of the enemy broke some of Mahommed Ally's troops, and took two pieces of artillery, but were suddenly repulsed by a few English, who recovered the cannon. Night only parted the combatants.

Hyder lost vast numbers in this battle. Nine hundred grenadiers, who were his best troops, were left in the field. The loss of the English was comparatively trivial, though they judged it expedient to decamp in the night. The enemy were afraid to pursue, notwithstanding the spirits they derived from this semblance of a retreat. They continued, however, to hover at a distance, nor once lost sight of the English army, which soon reached

reached its destination in good order, till they had advanced and encamped within a league and an half of Trinomaly.

The two objects to which General Smith obviously directed all his manœuvres, were a junction with the army under Colonel Wood, which he expected every day; and a general engagement with the enemy, in such a situation as should in a great measure defeat the utility of their cavalry. Hyder either did not perceive the necessity of intercepting Wood, overlooked, or could not accomplish it. Both our armies, however, were soon united, and forthwith marched to take possession of a post, not more than two leagues from Trinomaly, still better adapted for tempting the enemy to attack them, and where their cavalry was not likely to be of more service. After several artful dispositions of his troops, General Smith brought on an engagement. The Nizam's army was thrown into disorder on the first onset, and fled with precipitation on all sides. Hyder led on his infantry with great firmness and order. His cannonade on our left was served with much regularity and dispatch. His battery was covered by a morass in front. The English, however, soon turned his left, by the advantage of some rising grounds, which brought them to a close engagement. The Indians supported their fire for some time with steadiness and alacrity, but the vigour, impetuosity and ardour of the English were not to be resisted by numbers. Hyder's personal bravery served him in little stead amidst a huge multitude in whom

whom terror and confusion only prevailed. He had now the mortification to perceive, notwithstanding all his attention to the discipline of his troops, that the superiority of the Company's continued still undiminished. A total defeat ensued. Some of the Nizam's artillery fell into the hands of the English, who also took a few prisoners.

During these operations, which happened about the end of September [1767] a detachment of Myforean cavalry, under the command of Hyder's son, advanced with so much speed and secrecy towards Madras, that the governor, Mahommed Ally, his son, and Colonel Call, several other members of the council, being at breakfast in the country house at the Company's gardens, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. A domestic of a friend in Hyder's camp appeared but just time enough to announce the approach of Tippoo Saib. Their return to Madras was cut off. The nabob of Arcot was obliged for his safety to the swiftness of his horse. The rest found refuge in a small vessel, which, fortunately for them, lay by accident opposite to the garden. This unexpected fall flung the whole place into immediate consternation and uproar. The black town, which contains upwards of four hundred thousand inhabitants, alarmed by the fugitives from the country, abandoned their houses and effects, and issued into the fort by multitudes. In an instant the streets, the ditches, and even the glacis, were covered with people. The governor, on his arrival, could with much difficulty force a passage to his house.

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The place was at last saved by the exertions of Call the engineer. He armed all the Europeans who could be collected. He dispatched a battalion of sepoy's to defend the entrance to the black town. The pillagers were consequently deterred from their plunder, and an interval for deliberation was obtained. The consultation was hardly finished, when news arrived from General Smith, of the victory he had gained over the army of the sabbahs, at Trinomaly. This was announced to the people and the neighbourhood, from the fort, by one hundred and four guns. Tippoo Saib and his troops, alarmed for the safety of Hyder, having ravaged the environs of Madrafs, immediately returned to the army, where he was expected, not without anxiety for his situation, and where the exploits of this expedition were regarded as the certain prefaces of the greatest celebrity in future enterprise.

Partly to avoid the rainy season which had already begun to set in, and which is always attended with the most fatal consequences to Europeans, partly to recruit his men, who had suffered incredible fatigue, from the various hardships to which this campaign had reduced them, and partly to wait the approach of a reinforcement expected from Bengal, General Smith sent his army into quarters. Having first strongly garrisoned Trinomaly, Vaniambady, Ambour, and other advanced places, he distributed the remainder of his troops in Velore, Arcot, and some other strong contiguous towns.

It

It was while Hyder encamped in a plain five leagues distant from Caveripatnam, that the sultans agreed that the two armies should separate, and that, while Hyder carried on the war against Mahomed Ally, the Nizam should attack the English on the side of Masulipatam, in order to divide their forces. These terms were adopted with apparent cordiality by men who regarded each other with the strongest antipathy. They were at the same time extremely lavish in their professions of mutual esteem, and the treachery which lurked in the hearts of both was laboriously concealed by an excess of luxury and splendour which they alternately displayed, as marks of reciprocal affection and respect.

Vaniambady was without loss of time surrounded by the Indian army. The place was soon found susceptible of being approached by favour of the water, hedges, and trees, without the necessity of opening trenches. The garrison consisted of near a thousand sepoy, and about twenty Europeans. Fourteen iron cannon, which were dismounted by those of the besiegers, composed all the artillery. The place, though well provided with ammunition and stores, though no breach had been yet effected, and though in that case there wanted not workmen to repair the carriages, was taken without much resistance. The only terms insisted upon by the enemy were, that the commander and the other European officers should not, for one year, serve against Hyder.

Hyder

Hyder went from this place straight to Ambour. Here the Company had amassed vast quantities of ammunition and stores. At the foot of the citadel, which is situated on the summit of a steep inaccessible mountain, is a fort strengthened by the addition of a palisaded covered way, and a glacis. The fort is at the same time inclosed by a town of considerable magnitude, defended by a brick wall, with round bastions and a dry ditch. Half the place was covered by a large pond, at the end of which there was a redoubt, which closed the road between the pond and the river, and commanded that on the other side.

The town was in one quarter thought capable of being taken by storm, without any breach. Orders were consequently issued for carrying this point. The attack succeeded almost without resistance. The garrison had in fact placed their only dependence on the fort and citadel. The town, abandoned of its inhabitants, they foresaw, by inviting the enemy to plunder, would expose them to the fire of as much cannon as they could bear against them. The manœuvre was judicious, and succeeded to such a degree, that the number killed on the streets and buried among the ruins was prodigious.

The enemy's attempt against the citadel and fort was not so fortunate. His batteries were no sooner raised than demolished. A great number of his bravest men were daily sacrificed to the temerity of this abortive siege. He planted cannon on a rock which overlooked the garrison, who in two days erected such a bulwark as rendered them perfectly

scarcely useless. So that, after seventeen days severe exertion, the loss of many Europeans, and the expenditure of much ammunition, the work was still no more advanced than at first. In this state of affairs, news arrived that the English army was assembled at Vellore, and marching to raise the siege. Hyder, without a moment's hesitation, embraced the resolution of anticipating them, and retreated.

It was about this time that the Nizam had not only parted from Hyder, but renewed his agreement with the presidency of Madras; that Colonel Wood was sent, at the head of a considerable detachment, to reduce several of Hyder's forts in the vallies, and that it was resolved General Smith should carry the war into Hyder's dominions, and lay siege to Bangalore. The execution of this plan commenced as soon as the army were provided with necessaries.

A small squadron sailed at the same time from Bombay to attack Mangalore, one of Hyder's principal sea-ports, situated in the center of Canaree, on the Malabar coast. In this road all his navy for the most part lay at anchor. The expedition succeeded [Feb. 25, 1768]. All the forts were taken with very little loss, and the best of his ships captured. A garrison was left to defend the town. Tippoo Saib, at the head of the best troops in Hyder's army, flew to the relief of the Canarines, who, considering him as their deliverer, flocked to his standard, and putting themselves under his command, retook the town, and made the garrison prisoners. This, like all the other petty



petty exploits of this young warrior, was, by the parasites in his father's court, immediately magnified, and extolled as an instance of the greatest heroism.

Colonel Wood also took a great number of places. His operations were sometimes checked, but on the whole successful. In an action which was fought [October 4, 1768], he beat an army twenty-six thousand strong, with less than three thousand men, four hundred of which only were Europeans. Indeed the field was alternately lost and won several times, and the engagement which began at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, lasted till five in the afternoon. The enemy were at last obliged to retreat, leaving the field covered with their dead. Three elephants, nine camels, and seven hundred horses were killed on this occasion. We had some brave officers slain, several wounded, and a few taken prisoners, and we lost between two and three hundred men.

The glory of this day was soon and shockingly eclipsed, by the dreadful cruelty which attended our capture of Darampuri. All the garrison, the commander, his son, and every officer, were put to the sword, except twelve Europeans, who were saved by the English grenadiers. This bloody assault is even said to have been made while the white flag was on the breach. It was an outrage which the enemy were not backward to retaliate. For Mostum, Hyder's brother-in-law, shortly after, in cold blood, massacred a considerable body of our sepoy's in the plains of Ovilore.

The

The forces under Colonel Wood having rejoined the army, General Smith, in his march to Bangalore, took several of the enemy's strong holds. He constituted Ooscotta his military magazine, which he fortified with great care. In a hostile country, full of fastnesses and narrow passes, and at the same time necessarily exposed to the depredations of an active, intrepid and vigorous enemy, he soon found himself straitened for provisions. While he opened the trenches before Ballpour, Hyder invested the place where all his stores were deposited. The General, to rescue his magazine, abandoned the enterprise; and thus, without saving Ooscotta, lost the certain prospect of an important acquisition. For it was at this place he received orders to return with the army. Hyder, aware of the defenceless state of our settlements, availed himself of the celerity which his cavalry were capable of exerting on particular emergencies, and in consequence of several masterly motions, got between our troops and the Carnatic, which he entered and ravaged at pleasure. The English army instantly relinquished all the footing they had obtained in his territories, and hastened, by forced and fatiguing marches, to the defence of their own and their allies. Hyder, by this manœuvre, recovered without a blow all he had lost. He was no longer a fugitive flying before his enemies, unable to succour his own; but a vindictive and haughty victor pouring destruction on our dominions. His army, drooping and diminishing under the hardships of a defensive war, which wants  
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The proper stimulus for such troops as are only roused into courage and activity by their hopes of plunder, were now entered on a series of operations perfectly adapted to their genius and habits. Under these fortunate circumstances, his forces and allies naturally augmented with his reputation. Thus spreading ruin and devastation through the territories of Mahommed Ally, he not only gratified his personal resentment to that prince, whom he detested for his insidious connection with the English, but also flung all our inland settlements into confusion and terror, administered to the malice with which our success was regarded by those whom our politics had oppressed, and cut off one of our principal resources for carrying on the war.

His method of fighting was not less judicious than the route he had taken. The strength of his army consisting of eavalry, he avoided, as much as possible, facing our troops, wherever his could not act with freedom. He declined, for this reason, with the same solicitude that General Smith urged a general engagement. His chief object was to attack our detached parties, and intercept our convoys. And in the same proportion that these sallies weakened our forces, they necessarily strengthened his, by additional numbers and spirits. Indeed, all that rendered him formidable was the sagacity which distinguished his operations, as we were never without an army greatly superior to his in the field. And whatever injury he might

do the revenues of the Company, he was incapable of otherwise endangering its security.

Hyder having advanced within seven leagues of Madras, the English army were prepared to dispute the passage of the river St. Thomas, when he suddenly disappeared, and while no intelligence could be obtained of his route, shewed himself at the gates on the other side of the town, and dispatched a flag of truce to know what proposition they had to make. The presidency had recently received the orders of the Company to make peace at any terms. It was currently believed that Hyder was entering into an alliance with the Marattos. For these reasons they thought it prudent to decline the contest. The enemy, notwithstanding their advantages, were equally inclined to peace. It was therefore, on the third of April, [1769,] mutually agreed, that both parties should defray their own expences, and the forts or places taken on either side be restored; that the respective prisoners should be released, and a free commercial intercourse allowed, both in the Carnatic and Hyder Ally's dominions; that Mahommed Ally should pay a tribute of six lacks of rupees, or seventy-five thousand pounds, of which the first year's revenue should be laid down; and that there should be a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between the negotiating powers, and a specific number of troops, in cases of emergency, provided by each.

Thus

Thus ended a war commenced without any solid principle of policy or discretion, conducted throughout by illiberal measures, and involving, both in its progress and termination, consequences peculiarly inauspicious to the general interests of the Company.

It appears that the presidency, in adopting the resolution of provoking Hyder Ally to hostilities, paid but little attention either to the state of their own finances, their military strength, the resources of the enemy, the dangerous situation of their ally's dominions, or the advantages of their employers. They knew that the treasury of Madras was absolutely inadequate to the vast expenditure which these operations would necessarily occasion, and that even the revenues of Bengal, after paying the interest of the Company's debt, and its own civil and military establishment, could spare but little to assist or relieve them. It was obvious their own territories would be exposed to depredation, while their troops were occupied on a distant service, and that the nabob would be less able to support them, as he suffered from the enemy. The country, in which Hyder could always secure a retreat, notwithstanding our superiority, was not susceptible of an easy reduction. So that from every impartial view of their conduct, it seems to have originated chiefly in an empty desire of aggrandisement at best, or more probably in the apprehension that those princes whose dominions were most exposed to the depredatory excursions of the army, might increase their private fortunes, by secretly purchasing

chasing an exemption from the members of the council.

To whatever causes the war may be attributed, the mode of carrying it on admits of no apology. The army was in perpetual want of necessaries, and such as they obtained were not always of the best kind. Their movements were constantly retarded for want of oxen to transport their artillery, which alone could protect them from the sudden attacks of the enemy's cavalry. The general was at the same time deprived of all discretionary power, by the presence of a special delegation, whom the presidency appointed to attend the army, and superintend the campaign. The only man of sound abilities in this committee was Colonel Call, whose opinion, in emergencies of the greatest delicacy and consequence, was habitually over-ruled by the ignorance, timidity, and avarice of his colleagues. This office, unknown in the English service, and pernicious wherever it has been adopted, seems created, on the present occasion, merely for the emolument of those employed, who, deeply concerned in the contracts for supplying the troops, regulated their motions in such a manner as best suited their own convenience and interest. The army felt the bad effects of such an ill-advised measure in all its departments. Brave and experienced officers were disgusted. Some of them quitted the service; others, whose circumstances in such a situation, and at so great a distance from home, did not permit them to act so decisive a part, found the duty irksome, and relaxed their exertions.

And

And not a few, without either character, recommendation, or interest, were employed, advanced, and entrusted. The war was consequently marked with a stigma which had never before disgraced the military honour of the nation; British officers deserting the cause of their country for the service of an inveterate enemy, and forts given up in such a manner as to have an appearance rather of treachery than cowardice.

It was not easy to foresee or demonstrate any possible advantage that could result to the Company from this war. But those only who urged the measure, that the property of their masters might be absorbed in lucrative jobs to them or their friends, could remain blind to its consequences. The council of Madras seem to have been dazzled with the chimerical expectations of realizing, like their fellow-servants in Bengal, an immense territorial revenue. Their general dispatches to the Court of Directors about this period, exhibited these delusive prospects in colours peculiarly brilliant and interesting. They promised no less than to invest their masters with the sovereignty of all the Corromandel coast, and that of Malabar, from Cape Rama to Cape Comorin. This profound and prosperous policy was immediately rendered subservient to pecuniary intrigue. The nation, accustomed to the marvellous adventures of the East, easily became the dupe of its own credulity; and eagerly anticipated more prosperity than it was reasonable to expect. This temporary delirium was not without its effect. India stock rose with

rapidity, from the general desire that prevailed to share in the success of the present measures. The report of our victory at Trinomaly corroborated these flattering hopes, by promising to facilitate their accomplishment. In this moment of intemperate joy, from the presumption of a felicity barely possible, the capture of Madras by the son of Hyder Ally, a youth of eighteen, was announced: The revolution in the public mind, from extacy to despair, was instant and universal. The news, because disliked by all, was doubted by many, and anxiously disputed by more. The great body of the people, however, were so much alarmed and chagrined by their disappointment, that India stock was reduced, fell above sixty per cent. in a few days, and was soon expected to fall still lower. Not all the efforts of the Directors could give but a momentary check to this general torrent of despondency. In vain they produced their official dispatches, or asserted that the Company, instead of being in danger, was never in a more flourishing condition. That only which was most dreaded received the greatest credit. A suspicion of the worst was now the epidemical disorder, which time and patience alone could remove. The more the subject was understood, the livelier were people's resentments excited against those who had thus wantonly deceived them. The conduct of the Company's servants, especially in Madras, was canvassed with freedom, and arraigned with severity. Facts were investigated and proved, which, it was said, exposed them not only to censure, but to



to punishment. And the failure of the war was roundly imputed to their iniquitous contracts, monopolies, and extra-appointments. It was found that large remittances had been made from Bengal, to supply the deficiency of revenue in Madras. These were of a base kind of gold coin, by which the Company were supposed to have sustained, in mere exchange, the loss of forty thousand pounds. The investments usually made from Madras to China, were consequently suspended, no silver circulating in the country, and all the various manufactures at a stand, from the fear of the enemy. The business of the subordinate factories was equally obnoxious to injury and interruption from the same cause. The tributary polygars, especially of Mahommed Ally, were dilatory in their payments, and resolved their backwardness into that want of protection which left their property a prey to robbery and devastation. Thus every pecuniary resource of the Company was affected by this expensive and pernicious war. Their martial reputation, from the prudence and gallantry of their officers, had suffered nothing in the eyes of Hyder, who had seen and felt their superiority in so many instances. But our troops were no longer considered as invincible by the country at large. It was on this account adopted as a common opinion, that number, unanimity, bravery, discipline, and conduct, had nearly the same effect on Europeans and Indians. This war did more. It inculcated in the princes of Indostan, the necessity, the importance, and the practica-

bility of a general confederacy, and opposed to those hereditary feuds, which in all affairs of commerce and government had given such an ascendancy to foreigners, this foundest of all political maxims, that among no people on earth can there be any confidence without fidelity, or any safety without union.

The affairs of the Company, as well from their own magnitude as from their inseparable connection with the prosperity of the whole empire, were now an object of constant and general consideration. The national credit and interest were deeply involved with theirs. Some effectual measures were therefore deemed requisite, to put a stop to such abuses and mismanagement as had so foully disgraced the British name, both in India and Europe, and which had been attended with effects injurious at once to the Company and community.

With this view a plan was brought forward for investing three persons of competent experience in the constitution and business of the Company, as well as in the nature of Indian politics and connections; with extraordinary powers, and who should be sent to that country, under full authority, to examine and rectify the concerns of every department. Mr. Vanfittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Ford, all of whom had formerly served with reputation, the two former in a civil, and the latter in a military capacity, were accordingly appointed to this service, with an absolute controul over all the Company's servants in that part of the world.

This

This appointment, as might be expected, occasioned much warm altercation, and the most exquisite intrigue, especially on their side whose friends accepted ostensible situations in India.— They opposed the measure as nugatory, reprobated the principles of the institution as infidious and fallacious, and branded the powers thus created, as originating in a mean suspicion of their fidelity, in whom, by the constitution of the Company, their confidence was placed. Others, startled at the magnitude of the trust, and the delicacy of the commission. Every inch of the ground was disputed, new objections were constantly raised, and notwithstanding several general courts had assembled and canvassed the merits of the measure, no decision could take place without a ballot.— This was no sooner obtained, and the commission for giving effect to the resolution, than a new delay was occasioned by a requisition from the minister, that the Company should give to a servant of the crown a principal share in the direction of their affairs.

The Directors, during these debates, had applied for two ships of the line and some frigates, as their appearance in the Indian seas tended to facilitate the intercourse of their servants with the native princes. Government gave them no answer, but it was known that a squadron, under the command of Sir John Lindsay, was destined to sail for that part of the world. In order, however, to be certain of a matter thus important to the interest of the Company, the sanction of a general court, it

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was presumed, would render a similar application so respectable, that ministry would be under the necessity of making some reply. At a meeting, therefore, of the proprietors [July 27], a motion to this purpose was unanimously adopted, and another court appointed to receive the message of government.

At this court, which was held about a fortnight after, a letter was received from Lord Weymouth, one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, signifying that the measure adopted by the Company, had, in the opinion of ministry, been deemed illegal; that he was sorry to find, by their answer, that they had not acceded to the appointment of a naval officer, with full powers to adjust all maritime affairs in India. He now begged they would reconsider the commission in general, and that the particular article of granting unlimited powers to a naval officer might be laid before the proprietary at large.

This extraordinary demand produced an elaborate correspondence between the ministry and Directors. A subject altogether new, and involving questions of the greatest commercial and constitutional importance, was laid before the proprietors. It there appeared, that the authority required by this ministerial mandate, went in fact to superintend the supervisors, as well as all the Company's concerns. The Direction owned a readiness to allow the naval officer a certain participation of influence in their councils abroad, but declined acquiescing in the request at large, both because they thought the trust too great for one person, and because it  
would

would afford government a perpetual pretext for interfering in the management of the Company's affairs. They stated at the same time, that the commission had undergone the revision of council, and its legality was confirmed by the opinion of the most reputable lawyers in the kingdom.

At another court, held by adjournment to a short day, a second letter, which had been received that morning, was also read from the same minister. He stated, that by their answer the Directors had not properly understood him. He meant not to invest a naval officer with plenipotentiary powers at large, but only wished him to possess such a share in the business of administration as would at once promote the interest of the Company and the honour of government. He begged the proprietary to consider both the commission and that degree of authority which the servant of the crown ought to possess. He declined giving any opinion on the first of these; but as government, at the request of the Company, in the eleventh article of the last definitive treaty of peace with France, made conditions with several Indian princes, it highly concerned their honour that an officer of their appointment should be principal agent in all matters offensive and defensive.

The design of the minister was now obvious, and a considerable time was occupied in giving due consideration to the subject. It occasioned at the next general court [August 30.] a very tedious and warm debate. But, after much argumentation on both sides, and not a little violence, the matter

was

was at length rested on this general question, which was to be decided by ballot:—That this court will give the officer of the crown, commanding ships of the line, a share in the deliberations and resolutions of the Company, merely with regard to the two objects of making peace and declaring war, where his Majesty's forces are employed? It was rejected accordingly by a great majority.

The commission for the naval commander in chief was in the mean time made out; but as the requisition of extraordinary power had not been granted, his operations were limited to the Gulph of Persia, where the Company's affairs had for some time been greatly incommoded by the troubles which embroiled the natives. A sort of compromise thus took place. The power of making peace and war was allowed by the Directors to the naval commander only in the Gulph of Persia, and the demand for ships of the line to the Bay of Bengal was suspended. Two frigates, however, were ordered for that service, and at the same time appointed to convey the supervisors, whose powers were at length finally adjusted, and an end put to their tedious contest.

The Company's agreement with government, and the restraining bill, being nearly expired, it was deemed expedient to lay before ministry such proposals as were likely to become the basis of a new bargain. The object of the Directors was to obtain, if possible, more equitable terms, and a permanent settlement of the Company's affairs. They were solicitous to realize some return

turn or compensation for the great sum of money which they annually paid to government. A prolongation of their charter for five years was required, and considered as a moderate equivalent.— This, however, was absolutely refused. Extorting money from the Company was clearly a part of the ministerial system. Their interference in restricting their dividend, demonstrated that the Company were in the hands of a power which they could not resist. It was too late to insist on conditions. The controul was established, and might be expected to operate. Even the smallest relaxation in the restrictive power began to be considered as a favour, rather than acknowledged as a compensation.

Thus circumstanced, after a long train of negotiation and consultation with several general courts, an agreement was concluded, and a bill brought into parliament grounded on the following principles. That the Company should pay to the public, for five years to come, the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds: That, in that time, they might increase their dividends to twelve and a half per cent. the increase not to exceed one per cent. in any one year: That if the Company, from any cause or emergency, during that term, were under the necessity of reducing their dividends, an equal sum should be deducted from the annual payment made to government; but in case their dividends were reduced to six per cent. the payment to the public was to be discontinued:  
That,

That, during these five years, the Company should export British goods equal in value, upon an average, with those exported for an equal number of years past; and that, if any surplus of the Company's cash remained in England, after payment of certain specified debts, it should be lent to the public at an interest of two per cent.

CHAP-



## C H A P T E R V.

*Effects of the various Revolutions which took place in the Provinces of Bengal—Oppressions of Mahomed Reza Cawn—A dreadful famine—Mr. Hastings—His Regulations—His Intrigues with the Country Princes—Sujah ul Dowlah—Shaw Allum, or the Great Mogul—The Rohilla War.*

**A**N entire change in the arrangement of the political establishment was the necessary and immediate consequence of our accession to the Dewannee of Bengal. It produced a revolution which convulsed the state to its extremities, and which, under a series of singular occurrences, gave existence to such a variety of new circumstances, as mark our subsequent transactions in that unfortunate country with a novelty and infamy, which are without a parallel in the history of the species.

From that moment the government assumed a new shape. All the branches of the executive power were transferred from natives to the conquerors. Every official department, every situation of dignity and emolument, every post of confidence, exertion and responsibility was seized and occupied by the English. The influence of the subah was substantially annihilated. He was virtually restrained by his new situation from exercising a single act of independent sovereignty. He could

could neither make war nor peace, appoint his own ministers, controul his own troops, manage his own revenues, or superintend the administration of justice over his own subjects. The semblance of authority which he possessed was literally a purchase from the Company. They usurped the very settlement of his household; they restricted his expenditure to certain limitations; they rendered him a captive in his own palace; they crowded his court with their creatures; they bribed his very domestics to betray him; and they constituted every wretch in his train a spy on his private as well as his public conduct.

To the Dutch, the Danes, and other Europeans, who applied to the presidency of Calcutta as the ruling power, for the grant of indulgence, or the redress of grievances, they constantly assumed the prerogative, while they artfully eluded the direct avowal of that high character, by yielding or refusing protection under the name of influence. Equally careful to avoid disclaiming their own supremacy, or roundly asserting that of another, their sovereignty was daily and palpably substantiated by every part of their conduct. Nor could all the subtlety of political sophistry conceal the reality and exertions of an authority which operated openly, universally, and irresistibly. Their policy under these circumstances, was a silent acquiescence in the opinion of such as treated the Company as principals, but to suffer that conviction to acquire maturity and vigour among the natives, rather from the general tenor of their actions, than  
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from any strenuous and positive assertion of their right.

The principles, the measures, the objects, and alliances of government, were consequently no longer the same. While the native omrahs were in authority, notwithstanding their general depravity of manners, it was but a few of the worst who dared to introduce any innovations in tyranny. The despotism which then prevailed throughout the empire, was one established, invariable, well-known system, founded in maxims originating in the habits of the people, sanctioned by a religion adapted to the circumstances of the country, and transmitted, without any material alteration, through a long succession of ages. The higher ranks only were obnoxious, from their wealth or their influence, to the jealousy or oppression of superiors. The laborious peasants, mechanics, or manufacturers, were in general exempted from the intrigues, the altercations, and the quarrels of their respective masters, and often followed their humble occupations without molestation, while the chieftains around them were deeply engaged in the deadliest feuds. And it was no uncommon spectacle, in these periods of oriental simplicity, to see the farmer ploughing in one field, while the battle raged in another. The value of political institutions can be estimated only by that degree of general prosperity, and internal peace, which they are calculated to confer, establish, or protect. To these primary and essential objects of all good government, the numerous innovations which discrimi-

nated the British power in Bengal, had no reference. The miserable natives were defended against foreign invasion or depredation, merely for the purpose of securing to the servants of the Company a monopoly in the trade of domestic cruelty and oppression. Intoxicated by the elevated situation to which they were raised, the violent measures they pursued, like diseases which prey on the vitals, were at first attended with symptoms of approaching dissolution. By obtruding on their new dominions various disorders, under the pretext of necessary reform, they violated the venerable forms of antiquity, and superseded establishments and usages which, from time immemorial, the Hindoos had been accustomed to treat with respect. And thus a government took place, calculated in the first instance to promote extortion and rapacity, and in the object and operation of which, the character and happiness of the people at large had no share.

Of this extraordinary system no other account can be given, than that it originated in the mere contingency of mercantile enterprise. Nothing similar, at least, can be found in the inventions or speculations of ancient or modern times, among Gothic or civilized nations. It was a species of absolute delegation, in which the constituent body reserved no authority which could operate as a check on the usurpation or abuses of their representatives. It was radically and essentially defective, as without a faculty of legislation, and without interest in the consequences, it not only possessed, but united the

taxes levied on almost every article of life, and subject to infinite variation, from farms of exclusive privileges, or which have annexed to them certain monopolies; and from fines or forfeitures imposed on the natives for every species of misdemeanor, and by every Banyan in the employ of the English. The aggregate sum accumulated by the united produce of these resources must be immense. Under a government absolutely military, among a people whose chief characteristics are simplicity, timidity, and superstition, and where there was no law to guard the helpless, or awe the tyrannical, it is easy to conceive what dreadful implements of oppression these several branches of finance would become. It was the interest of those who hired the ground of the Company only for a year, to reduce the price of labour as much as possible, and without regarding futurity, command the greatest produce in their power. The inevitable consequence was imperceptible; ruin to the soil, the ryot, the zimindar, and the revenue. The demands of those who collected the duties were in every district and village enforced by parties of armed men. Indeed, whoever had any share in that great chain of dependence and subordination, which the Company had instituted in this new empire, considered himself as entitled to the privilege of mal-treating the wretched inhabitants, in proportion to his situation in the service. Of the infinite contributions raised in these devoted provinces, the share brought to the Company's account was, however, but trivial; though in the

general tenor of their orders, they have usually shewn more anxiety to swell their revenues than to benefit the public. These are the emphatic words of one of their servants to another \*.—“ By the  
 “ established mode of collection, the agreement is  
 “ never observed between the collector and the  
 “ tenant. At the end of the year, whenever the  
 “ former knows that the latter has made any gain,  
 “ he surely seizes it, notwithstanding the agree-  
 “ ment being justly paid. By these means all in-  
 “ dustry is checked, and all confidence destroyed;  
 “ and neither labourer, farmer, collector, and so  
 “ upwards to the soubjedare, having any trust in  
 “ each other, it has made the whole a chain of  
 “ rogues and plunderers.”

Mahommed Reza, the ostensible minister of finance, studied the character of his masters. He knew the influence of money. Possessed of talents for business, an accurate discernment of men in active life, and a genius for all the refinement and obliquities of the deepest intrigue, his situation gave him the command of treasures, and he applied them with dexterity, in accomplishing at once his interest and ambition. His address in conciliating friendships was irresistible. In pensions and presents among his dependents and abettors, his annual disbursements amounted to nearly half a million sterling. The place of the Company's resident at the court of the subah, was equal, at least,

\* Mr. G. G. Ducarell to Richard Becher, Esq. August, 1769.

to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year. The extortions which these immense levies occasioned, subjected the miserable inhabitants to a series of the most wanton cruelties. The emissaries of tyranny and exaction, assisted by select parties of military, suddenly overspread and ravaged the country far and near. In vain did the weaver, the tiller of ground, the handicraft, and the petty trader, accuse their oppressors, or demand a redress of their wrongs, whilst the intimate friends of the aggressors, or the aggressors themselves, presided in every court to which they could apply. They appealed to British justice, but were instantly remanded back to the tribunals of the natives, where the judge was not only a party in the cause, but highly incensed against them, for daring to betray a suspicion of his integrity, by lodging their complaints before his superiors. The men who presided in these prostituted courts, were the summary executioners of the partial and arbitrary mandates of a monster, whose unbounded avarice, not only steeled his heart against every accession of humanity, but at once tempted and enabled him to bribe the indulgence and connivance of his employers, that he might thus riot in the catastrophe of his country. History, averse to record the barbarities which marked his depredations on the cottages of the poor, could wish, for the honour of the species, to consign them, with their author, to oblivion. The whole executive power being entrusted with him, for substantiating the pecuniary expectations of the Company, plunder became the

principal object of his attention. The farmers had no interest in their farms above a year. That period comprehended all their cultivation and exertion. The rents were unavoidably raised to anticipate the eager demands of avarice. The wretched inhabitants submitted with unconquerable patience to every species of indignity and outrage, rather than relinquish their household gods, or the coots which their ancestors occupied. Every year they became the property of new masters. Their oppressions only were not changed, because they could not be increased. These petty tyrants were, in their turn, reduced to participate in the sufferings of their laws, and felt, themselves, an excess of that rigour which they had so often inflicted. Many were daily and openly tied and scourged like felons, at a stake. The streets and squares of Moorshedabad resounded with their clamours. Not a few expired in agonies under the lash. Others, driven to despair, abandoned the country, in quest of that lenity abroad which they could no longer enjoy at home. Those who survived the rod of oppression and remained, were deprived of their all, and vast tracts of the most fertile land in the world instantly became waste. It was at the same time strenuously urged, that the revenues of the Company ought to suffer no diminution, notwithstanding the increasing poverty and depopulation of the country.

The system of commerce and regulation established by the select committee, under the government of Lord Clive, united the Company's ser-  
vants,



vants, and all their various creatures in the country districts, in one black, bloody, and indissoluble association against the inhabitants. Their agents for managing the inland trade repaired without delay to their respective situations. The deputies of merchants, who were soldiers and conquerors at the same time, seized, at one stroke, on all the necessaries of life. This daring and mischievous monopoly, gave them an immediate and full command of the natives, who were without remedy or appeal, as the same set of men who formed the plan, and carried it into execution, were sovereigns of the country. Salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, were dealt out for money in the first instance, afterwards for goods, and then for almost every species of property which could be realized. The cruelties exerted in extorting the investments from the manufacturers, were so exquisite and intolerable, especially among those in the silk business, that individuals have been known to cut off their thumbs, and otherwise mangle and mutilate themselves, that they might not be compelled to a species of labour which exposed them to so much inconvenience and distress. ✓

The government of Bengal had now to furnish a tribute to the king, a salary to the nabob, and a revenue to the company. The taxes of every kind were, therefore, demanded by the agents of the treasury with more than usual eagerness. The nabob, unable to yield protection to his hapless subjects, was, notwithstanding, importuned from morning till night with their numerous complaints.

Those

Those only who possessed the power to restrain, connived at oppression. The projectors of these violent measures were satisfied that the evil did not exist among them, and winked at the crimes of petty offenders, that their resentment might fall the heavier on more elevated and exemplary delinquents. And the ruthless pillager of villages and farms, either purchased his impunity by dividing the spoil with his superiors, or fell a victim to the power he abused, and was himself plundered, with as little mercy as he had shewn to others. The servants of the Company set out upon the plan of accumulating fortunes only by proxy; but no sooner was it apparent that oppression had nothing to fear from justice, than they acted without disguise, and became open ostensible principals in violence and rapacity.

One of the most powerful principles to the operation of which we owe our prosperity in that unfortunate country, was, the good opinion generally entertained by the natives of the fairness and impartiality of our laws. They naturally contrasted the privileges of Englishmen, under a free constitution, with their own hereditary vassalage and dependence. They heard, with admiration and applause, that the British government protected every individual in all his personal and relative rights; that neither the prince, his nobles, or his soldiers of any denomination whatever, could wrest any part of his property from him; that men in all cases were judged by their equals; and that the rank of the aggressor, instead of entitling him to exemption, only

only raised him to exemplary punishment. These impressions disposed great numbers of the natives to favour, and in many instances to facilitate our territorial acquisitions. With hopes of changing for the better, they rejoiced at our prosperity, and imagined the introduction of our laws and customs would certainly follow our power. They were soon, however, and fatally undeceived. The moment we got possession of the government, orders were issued that leases and civil contracts were all to be made void on a day; that a few persons only, known to be generals in the army, imposed duties on necessaries, to one third of their value; and that their new masters had taken things of daily use into their own hands, to sell as they pleased.

But what resources were adequate to the avidity of avarice. The certainty, the ease, and the rapidity of making fortunes, are all objects of separate consideration with adventurers. The servants of the Company, anxious to return in splendour to their native country, deemed all these modes of enriching themselves tedious and unsatisfactory. The numerous monopolies established in their favour were still disproportionate to their expectations. Their next expedient was therefore to collect the rice into stores or magazines. Aware that the Gentoos would rather die than violate the precepts of their religion by eating flesh, they were sure of receiving what price they pleased for a commodity thus essential to existence. The inhabitants saw the situation to which they were reduced with grief and horror. Farmers finding their  
crops

crops at the disposal of others, cultivated their farms with indifference. This produced scarcity, and circumscribed the monopoly. The people lived on roots, and food to which they had not been accustomed. Sicknefs and epidemical complaints of various kinds every where prevailed, and converted the whole country into one prodigious hospital. Provisions increased in value in proportion as they diminished in quantity. The laborious poor, whose circumstances are always sufficiently hard, were the first whose situation exposed them to these accumulated distresses. Many died before any sustenance could be obtained or administered. And in some districts the living were so debilitated by disease and want, that the dead were even suffered to remain unburied.

All this, however, was but the beginning of misery. The wretched inhabitants of Bengal seem only to have survived the scourge of despotism, that the wrath of heaven might sweep them to destruction in multitudes. Such is the fertility of the soil, and so genial the climate of this country, that every year is blessed with two crops. Their little harvest, which consists of small grain, happens in April; and their great one, consisting solely of rice, happens in October. These different productions are owing to the rains, which generally commence in August, and continue nearly three months. By a strong drought, which exhausted the fields of moisture, and converted the most irriguous plains into sandy deserts, there was a failure in the great harvest of 1769, and in the little one

one of 1770. And so general and extensive was this failure, that notwithstanding a very considerable growth of rice on the higher grounds, the aggregate produce was by no means adequate to the consumption of the natives.

Famine was no uncommon calamity in this improvident country; but the savage spirit of monopoly co-operating with the hostile elements, occasioned such scenes of exquisite anxiety and horror as were even new to Indians. In every age and nation there are individuals atrocious enough to improve the public ruin to their own emolument. It was unfortunately not the lot of Bengal to be under the direction of men at that time distinguished by their humanity. The season prognosticated an approaching dearth, and the agents of the presidency, in their subordinate factories, superintending the customs or managing the provincial revenues, were, in consequence of their respective situations, as early and assiduous as possible in the purchase of rice. The profits in this odious and flagitious traffic were so enormous and immediate, that a gentleman stationed at the court of the nabob, who before this memorable period was known to be utterly without property, instantly after the famine, is said to have transmitted about sixty thousand pounds to Europe.

The black merchants deposited all the rice they could buy from the English in the granaries about Calcutta, where it was parcelled out to the inhabitants in the smallest quantities, and where, in consequence of a dreadful fire which happened in the months

months of April and May, most of it was destroyed. This fresh calamity was a new advantage to the monopoly, as the value of what remained was by that means considerably enhanced. Complaints the most respectful, the most submissive, and at the same time the most affecting and urgent, were daily reiterated at the Durbar and the Presidency.— But the interest of the aggressors was too powerful, both in the one and the other, to be shaken by the feeble voice of suffering innocency. The nabob had no influence but what was derived from the board, and the board, wherever a contest took place between their emissaries and the natives, were biased by a thousand considerations to give judgment without any regard to humanity or impartiality.

While many of the English beheld with admiration and sorrow the relentless sufferings of the patient Indians, the council at Calcutta were roused from their indolence by the critical situation into which these melancholy circumstances had plunged them. They sent into all the various districts under their government, to purchase whatever rice could be found on the Company's account, and even seized the cargoes on the rivers. This they publickly retailed, at the rate of between fifteen and twenty pounds for a rupee. Their principal attention, however, was to the preservation of their own workmen at the fortifications, which were then constructing. And it was not without some difficulty that the bazars or markets were furnished with a few maunds, or quantities which

which measure about eighty pounds, to answer in part the urgent demands of the inhabitants. The nabob and several omrahs about his court, as well as other wealthy families in Moorshedabad, displayed the most humane and princely munificence, by distributing rice to the needy gratis, until their respective granaries were exhausted.

No sooner were these liberal resources at an end than the natives poured down upon Calcutta in prodigious and resistless multitudes. The streets were instantaneously covered and incommoded, and all the lanes and avenues which lead to the palaces of the wealthy glutted by swarms of famished Indians, who, writhing in the agonies of want and despair, imputed all their miseries to avarice, and imprecated with their last breath a deluge of curses on the heads of their murderers!

In vain were the doors of the rich and powerful barricaded and protected against the shocking unceremonious intrusion of starving men, by guards of armed sipoys. The powerful requisitions of nature put an end, for the present, to all the exterior forms of decency. Every new space was explored, possessed, and defended, with an anxiety proportionate to the hopes of life, or alleviation which it afforded. And wretches grappling with hunger and disease, and even calling upon death for that relief which no other power would bestow, were not to be intimidated by the spear or the bayonet.

All over the city, and in the adjacent villages and plains, promiscuous crowds bending double,  
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with their stomachs contracted to their back-bones, were seen fainting and struggling under a pressure of intolerable anguish, quietly relinquishing a life thus embittered by sorrow, supplicating every passenger to have mercy upon them, lifting up their sad and languishing eyes to Heaven in despondency, exerting their last remains of strength, in soothing whom they were not able to save, or exhibiting all the various expressions of human passion, in a condition the most afflicting that can be conceived. The whole country echoed with the groans, and teemed with the spectres of those who were ready to die. The cottages, the villages, and even many of the market and manufacturing towns, unable to sustain their inhabitants, were deserted and made desolate. Famine drove them from their homes in shoals, like sheep to the slaughter. The fields, the roads, and all places of public intercourse, presented the eye with nothing but groups of these forlorn creatures, pale, meagre, emaciated, and ghastly. Some absolutely worn out with want and fatigue, here and there dropt down, and stretched themselves at full length, in expectation of immediate dissolution. Others scarce able to drag their bodies from place to place, were yet wandering up and down in a state of mournful stupidity, regardless where they went or what they endured.

It is hard to say, whether that earnest and painful anxiety with which the young and the active scrambled for the boon presented by the hand of humanity, or that wistful look which accompanied the

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the disappointment of the aged and the impotent, were most affecting. Multitudes flocked around every white man who approached them; and notwithstanding their timid minds and meek manners, in piteous or frantic accents implored his sympathy or urged his assistance. In these disastrous circumstances, and among the far greater number, all relative duties were for the time suspended. Individuals, chiefly engrossed by their own wants, were utterly incapable of attention to those of others. Children deserted their parents, and even mothers their infants, who were observed in great numbers expiring on the breast; while many, who survived the authors of their beings, still clung with deadly eagerness to those clay-cold bosoms which formerly afforded them warmth and nourishment.

There was not a corner in the city, or any lurking-place in the vicinity of Calcutta, where the living, the dying, and the dead, were not mingled or heaped together in melancholy confusion. It was impossible to stir abroad on business or recreation, where these offensive and mortifying associations were not in the way. The daily employment of hundreds was to remove the dead in proportion as they became a nuisance to the living. These in cart-loads, and without any funeral or religious obsequies, were promiscuously plunged into the river.

By this increasing and prodigious mortality, notwithstanding the most constant attentions to decency and cleanliness, the town and suburbs were so much infested, that, from the raging heat of the

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weather, the foul congregation of vapours which incessantly ascended from the unburied dead, and the torid or intemperate state of the atmosphere, a pestilential influenza was generally and seriously apprehended. Fortunately an extraordinary flock of carnivorous birds, animals, and vermin, were allured from their fastnesses and their solitudes by the putrefaction of the scene. The water of the Ganges become loathsome and corrupt from the loads of dead bodies which it daily received. Pork, geese, ducks, and every species of provision, fattened by substances thus gross and abhorrent, were avoided as poisonous. The fish in the river were noxious, and even sometimes fatal to those who eat them. Mutton, which could hardly be obtained at any price, became the only food which could be enjoyed with safety or satisfaction.

Diseases every where broke out, and multiplied in proportion to the violence with which the famine raged. Many whom plenty exempted from the exquisite pangs of want, natives as well as foreigners, unable to support their spirits under the increasing pressure occasioned by such an awful coincidence of afflicting circumstances, were literally the martyrs of their own apprehensions. No language can sufficiently exhibit the sudden and universal destruction produced by the ravages of these calamities. It was as if England, in the course of a few weeks, should lose one half of her inhabitants. Above three millions of people are said to have then perished for want of sustenance!

This

This famine is an epoch in the history of Bengal which shall perpetuate, while the world lasts, the sinister genitus of mercantile policy, and record, beyond the ravages of time, to what a shocking excess the outrages of avarice have been extended against all that is most sacred and inviolable in the rights of humanity! What must be the feelings of those monsters in whose sordid adventure this memorable catastrophe originated? Who would purchase even the Indies at the shocking expence of being thus haunted through life, by the ghosts of murdered millions!

It might have been expected that government, to alleviate the consequences of so general a misfortune, would have adopted, with a promptitude suited to the occasion, some strong and spirited measures; that those whose speculations had contributed to enhance the price or diminish the quantity of provisions, would have been called to a strict account; that an immediate stop would have been put to the prodigious and avowed exports of private dealers; that the destination of the Company's ships would have been changed, and the neighbouring seas traversed in search of sustenance; and that earnest application would have been made to all the countries in India for whatever supplies could have been procured under the pressure of so public an exigence. But instead of these laudable and urgent exertions, we are only informed of the following order for stoppages to be made out of certain stipends on account of the famine.

\* See Bengal Select Consultations of May 28, 1770.

“ It appearing to the Committee highly necessary and reasonable that the tribute stipends, and all extraordinary issues whatever, should give place to the more urgent calls of government, *resolved*, That Mr. Beccher, resident at the Durbar, be directed to withhold at least thirty lacks from the tribute and other allowances, between this period and the 17th of October, so that the receipts and disbursements may have some proportion to each other: That he be informed, with the assistance of this reserved sum, we expect he will continue to pay the troops, garrison, and all other charges of his department, the civil and military charges of the presidency being the utmost which can be defrayed from the treasury at Calcutta.”

These orders were accordingly transmitted in a letter to the resident, and from such a dreadful visitation of the Almighty, it was natural to hope that the customary modes of oppression should at least for a little be suspended. In some places, indeed, the zemindars and farmers were excused a few rupees on account of the drought; but the wretched ryots, who managed at once the agriculture and manufacture of the country, were remanded to their tasks with the usual severity, and peremptorily required to accomplish the same labour, without any additional emolument; to cultivate the premises of their annual masters, while their own continued waste; to become silk-winders, spinners and weavers, and to yield their goods at an arbitrary price!

In

In other places, the cruel extortion by forfeiture was still exacted with all its concomitant circumstances of rapacious violence. Those fines were even farmed as part of the rent-roll, and proved an insuperable bar to industry, by occasioning that appearance of poverty which the inhabitants of the districts so generally affected, as some degree of security from the avarice of office, and thus preventing such as had money from an open and liberal expenditure. The person who received the fine was himself judge of the delinquency, and the degree of the penalty to be inflicted; which was always levied, not according to the nature of the guilt, but the circumstances of the guilty. Theft and murder were compounded at the rate of four or five rupees, while fornication and witchcraft were punished by as many thousands. Accusations, which in other countries are usually confined to the aged and impotent, in Bengal generally fell on the rich and substantial.

Notwithstanding the inordinate interest of money; the systematic imposition practised by all concerned in raising the duties, and every other species of oppression which so remarkably distinguished the various operations within the revenue department, the wrongs of the inhabitants were still unredressed. Not all the sufferings they had endured from the utmost severities of nature and art, could soften or humanize their hard-hearted masters. Though the Company received for the space of ten years an annual revenue of a million and a half sterling from Bengal; though over and above that enormous

mous sum this pillaged country had afforded in the same space of time, upwards of nine millions to them and their servants; though the resources which had furnished all this treasure by wars, revolutions, and exactions of the most destructive tendency, were obviously impoverished; though the inhabitants saw no end to the demands of their conquerors, or any possibility of resisting the art and force with which these demands were made; though, in consequence of all their accumulated miseries, they were reduced to despair, and millions devoured by famine, or sacrificed at the ruthless shrine of rapacity, the Directors, in their general letter of April, 1771, coolly observe, that even this was "a time when every possible measure should be adopted for availing themselves of all the advantages which they had in prospect from the possession of the Dewannee."

Notwithstanding all the variety of calamities which their iniquitous measures had brought upon the populous and flourishing provinces of Bengal, which, in the short space of ten years, had realized to them and their numerous agents above twenty-four millions sterling, and which, in the same time, by famine and the pestilence, had also lost whatever escaped the ravages of war and oppression; from a country involved in miseries of such a magnitude and extent, a company of British merchants naturally and deliberately express the most ardent desire of deriving further emolument! Of all the tyrannies which, from time to time, have insulted the feelings, and trampled on the rights of men, those

those of a commercial government have proved the most barbarous and implacable. We may as rationally expect the most genial and delicious fruits of Asia in the coldest climates, as that a genius, equal to the liberal exercise of sovereignty, should spring from a counting-house. The great and complicated machinery of political systems depend not for the success or ultimate-perfection of its multifarious operations on subtle maxims of traffic, or the rigid rules of arithmetic.

From the war with Cossim Ally Cawn, and that powerful confederacy who espoused his interest, the military on the Bengal establishment had been employed on no active service of material consequence to the general affairs of the Company. A conspiracy among the English officers in the three brigades under the command of Lord Clive, while governor and president of the council, is the only important transaction in which, for a period of several years, they were distinguished.

To render the Company's revenue efficient, an abatement in the various charges incurred by the settlement of these lucrative provinces became every day more and more indispensable. The gentlemen in the army, aware of their own consequence in the service, and deeming their share in the reform by much the heaviest, agreed among themselves to unite in a body, and assert their own interest. Immemorial usage entitled them to an extraordinary allowance called *double batta*, while on field duty. This additional pay being not thought necessary under a peace-establishment, was

ordered to be withheld. The order announcing the retrenchment was received with a specious acquiescence, the better to disguise the sentiment and cover the design it occasioned. It was at the same time felt through the whole army with a mixture of the most serious mortification and resentment. Consultations were consequently held in every battallion, and a general correspondence established among all subordinate British officers in the Company's service. They conceived themselves insulted by a measure, which rendered them only the instruments of wealth and aggrandisement to others, and thought the profession degraded by its subjection to the little ploding manœuvres of a mercantile board. It was therefore their unanimous resolution to resign their commissions all in one day, rather than submit to an arrangement, or connive with a circumstance which every man regarded as dishonourable.

This extraordinary combination was planned with sagacity, and carried on with infinite spirit and address. It transpired, however, by one of those trivial accidents which no penetration can foresee or prevent, and which often defeats the best formed designs. A drunken quarrel divulged the plot and exposed the conspirators, only a few weeks prior to the day of general resignation. Lord Olive hastened to the cantonements where the danger was most imminent, and where he found sufficient employment for all his characteristic firmness and management. Sir Robert Barker, Colonel Richard Smith, and Sir Robert Fletcher, commanded at that



that time the respective brigades. Their exertions in concert with those of his Lordship and General Carnac, saved the Company, by recovering the discipline of its forces, and reducing them to a state of permanent subordination to the civil power.

This had undoubtedly been one great and primary object of Lord Clive's government. And no man had a more thorough acquaintance with the ambitious views of victorious troops, the influence derived from their situation, and the enormous fortunes which those especially in command were in the habit of accumulating. The Company and the nation at large were highly incensed by the perpetration of such unexampled tragedies as had resulted from the conspiracy instigated by his Lordship, his perfidious breach of a most solemn treaty with the lawful sovereign of the country, his authenticating an imposture by forging the name of a British admiral, together with the deposition and murder of Surajah Dowlah, and a variety of other foul transactions. These were, the abuses of an army acting independent of civil authority. The precedent was awful and menacing. Few commanders in chief could carry into the field the politics, the enterprize, or the ability of Lord Clive, but the critical posture of affairs in Bengal at that period, rendered it more necessary than ever, that all military operations should, for the future, be under the controul of the Council Board.

No system could more effectually realize and substantiate the prosperity of the Company, than that which was grafted on the suppression of a mutiny

tiny which threatened the entire subversion of all our acquisitions in India. This auspicious subordination has been steadily pursued and maintained by every succeeding government. From this moment the troops were separated into small cantonments, and distributed into all the country provinces and dependencies, where they have remained ever since almost stationary. The people in the several villages and districts are consequently kept in awe by the presence of a force which they cannot resist, the revenues are every where collected, and the investments provided at the point of the bayonet; internal regulations are introduced and preserved, and the frontiers of our possessions securely protected against the vigorous and artful incursions of all our predatory neighbours. The country, it must be acknowledged, by this system, was still in some degree under military execution, as being not less than ever exposed to all the outrages of a licentious soldiery. More temperance and moderation were however to be expected from the general deportment of the army by transferring the responsibility of its operations from the commanders in chief to the members of the council, as it then equally became the interest of both to avoid prosecuting schemes of rapacity, by the success of which neither of them could be gainers.

Such was the embarrassment of the Company's affairs towards the end of 1771, when from extreme mismanagement both at home and abroad, it appeared upon an impartial investigation, they were upwards of two millions in debt. Thus critically,

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circumstanced, Mr. Cartier, who was then president of the council, drew bills on the Company, for which he was severely censured, and with several members of the board abruptly dismissed the service.

Mr. Hastings was immediately called from the presidency of Madras to the government of Bengal. His reputation for talents and integrity entitled him to this distinction. And the reader can have no objection to as much intelligence as has yet transpired of an individual, who, for so many years, has been the principal actor in scenes which have deeply arrested the attention of all mankind, whose character and conduct have occasioned the profoundest speculations, in the general maxims of whose politics numerous factions have originated, and whose enemies and abettors, with an ardour and ability nearly equal, have so frequently arraigned and defended him.

His parentage, though not splendid, is respectable. He is said to be descended from one of the noblest families in the kingdom. The education which he received at Westminster School, from the attention of an able tutor\*, and chiefly his own capacity and application, was eminently classical and polite. His faculties were manly and cultivated at the age of eighteen, when he was appointed a writer in the Company's service at Bengal.— His first object, as soon as he arrived in India, was to make himself master of the Persian and Indof-

\* Dr. Nichols.

tan languages. And he was the first Englishman who accomplished this difficult undertaking with any degree of accuracy. It facilitated his success in every subsequent pursuit, procured him the confidence of the natives, and sensibly increased his merits in their estimation. Every office to which he was advanced, every character he sustained, and every trust for which he became responsible, were uniformly discharged with rigid and exemplary fidelity. The establishment of a factory in the interior parts of the country, was committed to his care. The project was abortive, but he acquitted himself with honour. Among all the British youth who followed the fortunes of Lord Clive, in grasping at the sovereignty of Bengal, he was the only person qualified for supporting the dignity of resident minister at the court of Meer Jaffier.— The smallest impropriety in managing the delicate and important business of this interesting station was never laid to his charge. For though he enjoyed a place for years, which, to some of his successors, has been deemed equal at least to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds annually, and at a time when Lord Clive, according to his own account, realized nearly a million of money, on Mr. Hastings's return to Europe with his friend Vanstuart, while others, who had occupied very inferior stations, realized and brought home fortunes from a hundred to five hundred thousand pounds; his was said not to exceed fifteen thousand.— Happy had it been for him, perhaps for the natives of Indostan, assuredly for many of his contemporaries in England, had he never deviated from

from this obvious rectitude, or adopted a line of conduct more obnoxious to censure or misconstruction.

He was not long in London when his philological acquirements, and an exquisite taste which he soon discovered for poetry and the fine arts, introduced him to the acquaintance of those who had most distinguished themselves as men of science and ability. He was intimate with that club of wits among whom Dr. Samuel Johnson, of classical memory, presided; and formed, in concert with that great man and others, the design of establishing a class in the university of Oxford, for teaching the Persian language. No man could be better fitted for the direction of such an institution, which however was defeated by his appointment in 1769, to be second in council at Madras, with no very remote prospect of succeeding to the chair in that presidency. He continued in this place till February 1772, when the Directors, apprised of his abilities, and confiding in his worth, named him to the government of Fort-William.

In this eminent and arduous situation, the subtilty, the versatility, and the sublimity of his mind; had the amplest range. On his accession to government, relaxation, anarchy, obliquity, every where prevailed. The distresses of the Company accumulated with enormous rapidity. Though bills were drawn on the Directors for more than a million sterling, a bond-debt to a much larger amount due to individuals in Bengal, was still undischarged. The expence and disbursement of the Company at that time actually exceeded their income.

income. The revenues were embezzled in the collection, the payments of the zimindars were retarded by a collusion with the cutcherry or rent office, the army in various parts were spreading oppression and terror over all the provinces, the courts of justice were invading the rights of the harmless and impotent, under the covert of a legal process, discontent universally assumed a gloomy and foreboding silence, monopoly suspended the natural operation of commerce, speculation more or less affected the whole system of civil arrangement, and profusion pervaded every department of the public expenditure.

The regulations which Mr. Hastings adopted under this ruinous state of things, notwithstanding the infinite prejudices which opposed his exertions, were as immediate as they seemed indispensable.— He retrenched the excessive civil charges in Calcutta, abolished all unnecessary appointments, and suppressed, both by precept and example, that profligate spirit of extravagance and dissipation which had seized and pervaded all orders of men. The face of affairs acknowledged the hand of a reformer in less than a month. Government instantly assumed a new and more decisive mode of exertion. Her resolutions were carried into effect with vigour and promptitude; and in proportion as she asserted her dignity with firmness and simplicity, her credit and respectability revived.

The Company had now determined to stand forth as dewanee of the provinces, through the agency of their own servants. The Directors announced

nounced this intention in their general letter, but neither suggested any system, nor superseded any prior orders which might defeat a new arrangement. Mr. Hastings perceived the difficulty, but it did not prevent his endeavours to realize the wishes of his employers. And here a field was opened worthy of all that active and enterprising genius which has hitherto distinguished his conduct. Nor did he hesitate to enter with his usual ardour into an accurate development of whatever relates to the complicated scenes of finance and jurisprudence.

It is impossible to go into the detail of such a laboured variety of institutions, as originated in his vigilant attention to every branch of the service. A committee of circuit were instantly appointed to make the tour of the several provinces and out districts. It consisted of the president, attended by four members of the board. They proceeded to Murshedabad, the residence of the nabob, and the native officers of government, where they investigated the state of the revenues, reduced the expences of collecting them, and established provincial courts of justice for preventing those acts of oppression and arbitrary power, which had proved so prejudicial both to the country and the Company.

By these substantial arrangements the whole fictitious apparatus of a native administration was instantly and effectually dissolved. The form of authority had so long subsisted without the spirit, that the plot was now universally discovered and despised. The utility and popularity of political frauds are

co-existent. The nabob was known to be a cipher, and a captive in the custody of Mahommed Reza, who acted the double but natural part of being the slave of the English, and tyrant of his countrymen. He was therefore dismissed from the office of Naib Duan for the territories of Bengal and Shitabroy, from a similar situation in those of Bahar, together with every person employed by them, connected with them, or under their influence, in collecting the revenues. This material alteration in the great machinery of government, was formally proclaimed at Murshedabad and Patna.— The chief and council in both places were consequently charged with the care of finance in the several districts under their respective jurisdiction, until some regular establishment could be effected. The nabob and his subjects were delivered from the rapacity and intrigues of a tyrant, whose outrages excited the hatred and execration of the species. Muny Begum, not the mother of the nabob, though of superior rank in the Haram, but a person of plebeian extraction, of intriguing character and low manners, was immediately appointed the guardian of his minority, and to transact in his stead the political concerns of the sircar or government, and Rajah Goodrafs, son of Mahah Rajah Nuncomar, became Duan of the nabob's household. Establishments obviously intended to demonstrate in the eyes of all Indostan, the absolute insignificance and degradation of the nabob's family, as contrasted with the real and assumed sovereignty of the English.

The same indefatigable perseverance in the great business of a thorough reform, discriminated the Govern-



governor's return to the presidency, which had marked his circuit in the provinces. The odium of his countrymen was for the present at least overborne by the grateful acknowledgments of the natives, who every where hailed him as their saviour, and pictured in their fond imaginations an immediate emancipation from all their sufferings and slavery. His measures promised at least no very distant redress to the numerous wrongs they endured under former establishments, and had an aspect not less friendly to the government than the subject.— He modelled a-new the several public offices, and appointed to each its separate and independent business. The infinite swarms of collectors, and every other description of individuals retained in the multifarious department of revenue, were precluded, by positive orders, from exceeding their respective and specific powers. The general office where these matters were finally adjusted, was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, and all the branches of finance brought immediately before the council. A board of inspection was at the same time instituted for the controul of the public expenditure.

The military operations could not be overlooked, under an administration thus active and enterprising. All their measures originated from the pressure of those accumulated exigencies to which the Company's affairs, both at home and abroad, were then reduced. Effectual relief was anxiously expected from the industry, the abilities, and the virtues of the new presidency, who, equally solici-

tous on their part to answer the intention of their appointment, grappled successfully with the difficulties of their situation, by improving to the utmost all the resources in their power.

The Marrattos, early in 1772, invaded the Rohilla country, which, after a short but ineffectual struggle, at Sukkertall, was abandoned to their mercy. Sujah ul Dowlah, alarmed by this formidable incursion, on territories so nearly connected with his own, solicited aid of the English, who were then encamped at Denapore. A brigade immediately directed their march for the territories of Oude. An order of council, however, stopped them at Benares. It was then the Rohilla chiefs agreed to pay the vizir forty lacks of rupees, to protect them against the Marrattos. But the approach of the rainy season soon cleared Rohilcund of the enemy. The vizir, notwithstanding his influence on this event is established by no facts on record, instantly put in his claim for the stipulated sum. Hafez Rahmet Cawn, who managed the negociation for his countrymen, did not at first refuse the validity of the debt, but evaded payment probably in the expectation of convincing the vizir, that the demand was premature, as the business on which it was founded being accomplished by accident, had superseded those exertions for which the engagement took place. And it was not till the chiefs were provoked by the vizir's importunity, that they boldly negatived his plea. A point into which the wary and ambitious  
subah

Subah had, by the whole of his conduct from first to last, been anxious to ensnare or betray them.

The strength and extent of the Murratto united states are now pretty accurately known. They inhabit the mountaneous wilds of Indostan. Their territories, their armies, and their revenues are immense. They derive from the wisdom of their political institutions, tranquillity, and domestic happiness, in time of peace; from their situation, their wealth, their habits, and their national genius, conduct and enterprize in war. Shaw Allum, or the great mogul, whose ancestors had subdued the empire, was now connected with this warlike race by an assignment of the provinces which he derived from the English, in the treaty of Allahabad. The presidency anticipated all the pernicious effects of this rash connection. They considered such an alienation of the Company's donation to his Majesty, as a formal breach of their friendship on his part. They construed his property in the provinces in question to depend entirely on his personal possession of them, but by no means to give him the right of ceding them to others. Responsible to the vizir in some measure for the defence of his dominions against every attack, the approximation of such hostile neighbours menaced the tranquillity they expected from the pacific measures they wished to pursue. Oude was the barrier of Bengal. It was their interest to protect the one for the sake of the other. The vizir's frontiers could not be exposed with safety to their own. The enemy's cavalry would be enabled,

from their situation, to plunder and harras the Company's ally with impunity. Their incessant deprivations might even dispose him, from timidity, selfishness, impotence or policy, to leave the territories of the Company accessible to the enemy. For these reasons, it was unanimously resolved to take possession of what his majesty, by this measure, had relinquished, and consequently prevent the Marrattos availing themselves of the grant they had obtained.

This forcible seizure of Corah and Kurrah was intended to operate as an effectual check to all further connection or intercourse with the emperor of India. The Company were engaged by solemn treaty to pay him an yearly subsidy of twenty-six lacks of rupees for his grant of the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. But the moment they assumed this important office by the agency of their own servants, they formally and avowedly violated the condition on which it was originally obtained. This important transaction was reserved for the administration of Mr. Hastings, and it happened not long subsequent to his being nominated governor of Bengal.

Dazzled by the lustre of the imperial family, and anxious to resume a glory thus apparently extinguished, his Majesty went to Dehli, the metropolis of the empire, where he incurred a plenitude of additional contempt, by the idle parade of a coronation. This romantic attachment to the empty pageantry of a royalty merely nominal, he absurdly conceived might contribute to realize his

views

views or wishes of a more substantial aggrandizement. It was a scheme which had so absolutely engrossed his attention and desires, that during his whole connection and correspondence with the English, he constantly urged them to assist him in putting it in execution. Yet no sooner was he enabled to gratify his ambition by thus visiting the residence and ascending the throne of his ancestors, than it was eagerly interpreted a direrction of their friendship.

In fact, he formed an alliance which they did not approve, their treasury was exhausted, and they were pressed with difficulties which appeared insuperable both in India and Europe. These were the reasons which induced them to withhold the price while they retained the purchase. Because he was unfortunate, they were determined to be unjust. He might have resumed the Dewanee on the same principle which they urged as warranting them to detain his tribute. But it was his fortune to be weak, and theirs to be strong. In that case, politics are seldom governed by equity; and perhaps it were absurd to expect a magnanimity in Calcutta so rarely to be found in any other part of the world. So that it was not unnatural in a power which had already bereft his majesty of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds a-year, to usurp the districts in question for the sake of disposing of them to more advantage.

The vizir was apprehensive the Marrattos would endeavour to take possession of their new territory by the route of Rohilcund. Here the British ar-

my were determined to dispute their claim. The first brigade, consisting of one regiment of Europeans, six battalions of sipoys, and twenty pieces of cannon, had therefore effected a junction with the troops of Sujah Dowlah and the Rohillas, and advanced to the banks of the Ganges by forced marches.

The Rohilla country north of the river was included within the line of operation prescribed to the General on this expedition. In consequence of such a discretionary latitude, the brigade penetrated as far as Kamgent. The Marrattos, who had just forded the river, re-crossed it with precipitation on their appearance, were pursued and prevented doing any other damage than merely burning a few insignificant villages. The conduct of the Rohillas on this occasion was undoubtedly equivocal. The vizir deemed them perfidious, and was persuaded by their motions that they wished to have assisted the enemy. They did not join him until the allied army were prepared to storm their camp. The British general pronounced them to be the most treacherous of men, and proposed that we should put the vizir in possession of their country. The Marrattos hovered during the remainder of the campaign in the neighbourhood of the camp, without any effort to bring on another action, or once daring to approach the borders of Corah.— And the troubles which arose in their own proper dominions recalled them before the setting in of the rains.

From

From this moment Sujah Dowlah became the inveterate enemy of the Rohillas. Chagrined by their backwardness in literally fulfilling their engagements, he conceived them as having now added treachery to evasion. He repeated his demand of the forty lacks, but with no better success, though his title was no longer disputable. He had even reason to suspect a collusion between Hafez Rhamet Cawn and the Marrattos. He accused him of secretly encouraging and aiding them by money. He dreaded their machinations against him. The Marrattos were his hereditary enemies, and would grasp with eagerness at any pretext for involving him in war. And this would always be in their power, while the Rohillas, by their situation, could so easily foment a quarrel between them. Thus circumstanced, the only policy he had to prosecute was the conquest of their country. It was obvious, however, that the assistance of the Company's troops was indispensable. And he repeatedly urged their compliance with his wishes in accomplishing this favourite object, both to the general in person and the president by letters.

In consequence of these designs, he earnestly pressed and obtained a meeting with Mr. Hastings at Benaris, where a treaty was concluded with the vizir on these terms: That the provinces of Corah and Allahabad should be ceded to him, on condition of his paying fifty lacks of rupees to the Company, twenty of which in ready money, and the remainder in equal payments at the expiration of one or two years. And the equivalent which the

vizir was to afford for the charge of their troops when sent to his assistance at his requisition, was stipulated at two lacks and ten thousand rupees per month.

The origin of the Rohilla war has occasioned so much altercation, has been so violently attacked and so strenuously defended, has produced indeed such a deluge of sophistry on both sides, that the fact is not easily discriminated from the colouring with which it is recorded. It was, however, determined secretly, between the governor and the vizir, in a conversation which passed at Benaris.—The object, which was the extirpation of the Rohillas, seems from the first to have been equally desirable to both. It was introduced, brought forward, and matured, in the course of public business, with the most consummate address. The orders of the Company were against the measure, and it evidently obtained, after much serious discussion, the approbation both of the select committee and the board of council, rather in deference to the sentiments and engagements of the president, than from any real conviction of its propriety, expediency, or utility. It was proposed, in the first instance, to comply with the vizir's requisition on terms which he was expected to deem extravagant and impracticable. The artifice succeeded. He rejected the proposal with warmth. Being, however, thus formally adopted by government, he soon changed his mind, in the presumption that they had gone too far to recede. He now, therefore, demanded the assistance of the brigade



gade on the terms required, in reducing that part of the country which lies between the Ganges and the mountains. To this object the operations of the troops were restricted by the presidency, who expressed the most cordial satisfaction on the requisition of Sujah Dowlah, because the absence of the Marrattos would facilitate the conquest in view, the troops would be preserved from inaction and relaxation of discipline, the barrier of the vizir's dominions, in the defence of which we were so deeply interested, would be at once strengthened and extended, the revenues of our principal ally would derive from the acquisition considerable augmentation, one third of the military charges would be saved to the Company, and a substantial obligation conferred on a friend, whose tried fidelity deserved whatever could be accomplished in his favour, and the service was finally to be rewarded by forty lacks of rupees, which the vizir engaged to liquidate whenever the object of the war was completed.

Rohilcund, from situation, fertility, cultivation, and every other respect, was an acquisition peculiarly desirable to the vizir. His territories towards that quarter were altogether without any natural barrier, and consequently exposed to incursion, either from the impotence, inattention, or treachery of the Rohillas, whose country was calculated to afford him an absolute shelter, by the Thibet mountains on the north, and on the south and west by the Ganges. The inhabitants consisted of two different classes. Those who cultivated the

the land, and those who had the management of the civil and political institutions. The former, consisting of farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, and dealers, were an industrious, happy and prosperous people, the descendants of the Gentoos, innocent in their manners, united among themselves, sedulous, contented and successful in their humble occupations. The country was one beautiful garden, in which nature and art every where shone in the most prolific exuberance. The government was in possession of a tribe of Hagans or Pitans, who had conquered Rohilcund above seventy years ago, and had ever since lived upon the fruits of it, without either assisting in its cultivation, or mixing with its inhabitants. They had not, however, abused the trust they assumed. Their reign had been prosperous and humane. The lands were kept in a state of the highest cultivation, and all the duties, customs, or revenues, yielded with readiness and satisfaction. The subjects were blessed with plenty, which they enjoyed without molestation. And they gave no indication of wishing on any account to change either their condition or their rulers.

In the select committee, November 26, 1773, the fiat was given for co-operating with Sujah Dowlah, in subjugating this rich and flourishing country. Colonel Champion, the provisional commander in chief of the second brigade, was entrusted with this service. He arrived within the territories of Oude, by the beginning of February, 1774. The Rohilla country was actually invaded  
a few

a few weeks after, by the whole united army.— The vizir forthwith dispatched several detachments of light infantry, to indulge the most wanton and unprovoked outrages, and infest the cottages of the poor, as well as the mansions of the wealthy, with all the horrors of war. The harmless inhabitants were instantly butchered or expelled, their property ruined, and their villages consumed by the flames. This was but an earnest of the tyrant's vengeance, which God in his wrath had destined a British army to execute.

The Rohillas, fired by the scenes of devastation which raged around them, crowded to the standard which their chiefs had raised in their defence, and regarded the approaches of the subah with resentment and defiance. On the 23d of April, the celebrated Hafez Rhamut appeared at the head of forty thousand brave men, in order of battle, who determined to sell their rights and their lives as dearly as possible. Our troops accepted the challenge with their usual fortitude. Animated by a consciousness of superiority, from reputation, from discipline, and from success, they prepared for the attack with that cool and temperate confidence, which never forsakes them in the hour of danger. The enemy fought in the presence of their fortunes and families, if not with hopes of victory, at least with those of revenge. Life was no longer valuable to men who knew they must lose whatever could render it desirable. Inflamed by all that is dear to the human heart, fury inspired them with courage, and danger taught them conduct.—

Their

Their rockets, their matchlocks, and their artillery, were discharged with unexpected rapidity and resolution, and in various places galled our lines with considerable effect. They even made several attempts to charge, but the fire of our guns and musquetry was irresistible. Unable to advance, and disdaining to retreat, they pushed with eagerness wherever the conflict was most fierce; and in proportion as they swarmed to close with our ranks, the slaughter became incredible. Their vigorous exertions, nevertheless, continued for hours equally ardent and obstinate. The British gained not a single advantage but what resulted from their superior skill in the science of war. Notwithstanding the torrent of fire which our army poured in upon them with incessant impetuosity, several of their chiefs advanced again and again with exemplary gallantry, and pitched their colours between the two armies, urging their exhausted followers to renew the attack. It was not possible for them, however, to gain the day in such an unequal contest. The interest of the vizir prevailed, and the English were victorious. Hafez Rhamut, whose enlightened mind, polished talents, beautiful poetry, and amiable morals, endeared him to his friends, and rendered him the favourite of the age and nation where he lived, was slain, rallying with great bravery the scattered remains of a broken and dispirited army. The vizir, treacherous to the commander in chief, whom he promised to meet in the field of battle, was content to fate his bloody mind with a sight of the carnage at a distance. But no sooner

sooner were the enemy completely routed, than his horse were let loose to plunder the camp, and ravage the country. Our troops, preserving their ranks and orders inviolate, were only heard to mutter, "We have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit."

The cruelties that ensued were shocking and disgraceful. The usurper indulged the basest propensities of his nature with unbridled ferocity. No remonstrance of Colonel Champion could prevent the havock of the vanquished territory. For three whole days after the battle, the houses of this fertile and well inhabited spot were every where in a blaze. The family, the friends, and dependents of the unfortunate Hafez Rhamut, were exposed to dishonour, to insult, and even to want. The commander in chief made a feeling representation of their wretched situation to the select committee, as his personal influence with the vizir could obtain for them no relief. He received an answer on the 23d of May, in which are these words:—  
"It has been an invariable maxim in the policy  
"of the Company's government, in the execution  
"of any enterprizes which they have undertaken  
"in behalf of their allies, to interpose their protection  
"in favour of the conquered princes, for  
"the security of their lives and honour; and it  
"will unquestionably be the care and attention of  
"this administration, to adhere to this maxim,  
"which has so greatly contributed to the reputation  
"of the British name, and to perform what  
"may be incumbent on them, on the present occasion."

“caſion.” Mr. Haſtings, however, who likewiſe preſided in this committee, roundly abandons this forlorn family to the rigour of their fate, in a letter to the colonel, but four days afterwards, where he obſerves, that “to take the family of Hafez Rhamut immediately under our protection, would “furniſh him (the vizir) with a *juſt* plea to reſuſe “his compliance with the ſtipulation made for the “preſent ſervice, as it would in effect be to conquer the country for the Company, and not for “him.”

The cruelties of Sujah Dowlah was not confined to the diſtracted remains of this wretched houſe — All his priſoners experienced the ſame unrelenting ſeverity. He kept them within his forts, or removed them to Fyzabad, that he might not hear the cenſures, or be teized by the importunities of the Engliſh on their account. He intruded on the ſecrecies of the women, by forcibly entering the Zenana, which is the groſſeſt inſult that can be offered to the family of a noble Moor. He diveſted them of their trinkets and the ornaments of their dreſs, provided them with no ſuitable accommodation, and even ſuffered them to want the neceſſaries of life. Not leſs than two hundred women, many of whom were perſons of diſtinction, he ordered to be driven from Beſſouleę to his camp, almoſt naked, under a guard of ſipoys. From Berrelly, or its neighbourhood, ſeveral young women were alſo dragged from the arms of their agonizing relations, for the expreſs purpoſe of prostitution.

The

The most illustrious of these captives were equally destitute of food and raiment, covered with vermin, and reduced to the severe necessity of supplicating charity, which they actually received from several English gentlemen. His treatment of Mahubulla Cawn and his brothers was, if possible, yet more criminal. These men possessed a country worth, at least, twenty lacks of rupees per annum. In consequence of the most solemn assurances of protection and friendship, they shut themselves up in Bessoulee, the capital of their districts, where they observed a strict neutrality during the war.— He continued to applaud their conduct, by repeating the strongest professions of regard for their welfare. But the moment they were in his power, he put them under the most rigorous confinement, denied them access to their families, robbed them of their property, and used themselves and their women not only with indignity and dishonour, but with cruelty. These are the moving terms in which they describe their situation, in their complaints to Col. Champion: “ He has deprived us  
“ of our country, of our riches, and even of our  
“ honour; and not satisfied with that, he is going  
“ to send us prisoners to Fyzabad. We desire  
“ no country, no riches, no houses; but at Bessoulee are the tombs of our noble ancestors!—  
“ Near them, under some shade, we beg permission to spend the remainder of our days as Familiars. Relying on the vizir’s promises, we remained in this country, otherwise we should have fled as the other chiefs did, and have preserved  
“ our

“ our characters and honours. These he has taken away with our effects. And how he has dishonoured us is known to all.”

During the perpetration of these outrages against numbers of helpless women and children, whose husbands and fathers had fallen in an abortive struggle to preserve their independence, the British army, subjected to the vizir's controul, were dragged from place to place, at his caprice. Fizulla Cawn fled at the head of his surviving countrymen, and encamped in a place of great natural strength, among the mountains at the extremity of Rohilcund. Colonel Champion had probably incurred the vizir's displeasure, by interesting himself in behalf of the army, in dividing the spoil of the vanquished, in endeavouring to restrain the depredations of the vizir's cavalry against an innocent and defenceless people, and especially in his humane attempts to procure for the prisoners some mitigation of their merciless treatment. His efforts to obtain an honourable negotiation for Fizulla Cawn, and acting as a mediator between the principals in the war, was still more offensive, though the vizir had the address for the present to conceal his resentment. The victor would allow no abatement in the terms he proposed, and Fizulla Cawn deemed them, from the temper of the chiefs connected with him, to be impracticable. The governor or president agreed in every thing with the vizir, and condemned at the same time the interference of the commander in chief. Our troops were consequently ordered, without further regard to time or place,



place, to accomplish the reduction of the enemy. The select committee who directed the war renewed their instructions to the colonel, in these words: "You are authorized and directed by us  
" to pursue the most vigorous measures, in conjunction with the vizir, effectually to reduce the  
" Rohilla army, without confining your operations  
" to the Rohilla dominions." The army proceeded accordingly within a few miles of Lalldong, where the Rohillas had fortified themselves in a very strong post. Here they were soon reduced to extremity for want of provision. A sickness at the same time broke out in their camp, which daily carried off great numbers. Wishing rather to starve them into a surrender, than risque the brigade in an attack which could not succeed but under peculiar disadvantages, and with a prodigious effusion of human blood, Colonel Champion suspended his operations to wait the result of these circumstances. His conduct was justified by the consequence. They redoubled their earnestness in pressing an accommodation. Fizulla Cawn presented himself before the conquerors, and the vizir, in consideration of his confidence, agreed that he should have a jaghire or district of fourteen lacks, and seventy-five thousand rupees a year; and that he should be allowed five thousand men in his service; but that in return he should deliver up one half of his treasure to the vizir, submit to him as his vassal, and pay him military tribute.

Thus ended a war, undertaken against the express prohibition of the Company, and even, in

some measure, without their knowledge, in which an army of British soldiers acted as mercenaries under a foreign prince, for the unequivocal purpose of procuring their employers a sum of money, by which a race of men were slaughtered or extirpated, who were at least inoffensive to their neighbours, who certainly never injured the English, and under whose mild and humane government the country flourished, and its inhabitants were happy.

## C H A P T E R VI.

*A Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty appears on the Coast of Coromandel—The Fall of Tanjore—Lord Pigot's appointment—He restores the King of Tanjore—Is put under Military Arrest—Dies in Confinement—Three of the Majority who effected this Insurrection tried and condemned by an English Jury.*

THE wreck of the Aurora frigate, which probably foundered in some of those numerous streights or shelves so common and dangerous in the eastern ocean, put a melancholy end to all expectations inspired by the commission of Supervisors in 1769. The Squadron which carried out the new Commissioners was commanded by Sir John Lindsay, an officer of distinguished merit in his profession. He was at the same time appointed by the Company superintendant of their concerns in the Gulph of Persia, and commander in chief of all their ships, frigates and armed vessels in India. Government invested him with powers still higher. He carried with him credentials under the great seal to appear and act in India as plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, especially to his Excellency the Nabob of Arcot, who had become an ally of the crown by the eleventh article of the treaty of Paris.

Having remained some months on the Malabar coast, Sir John arrived at Fort George in the end of July, 1770, where a tedious and intricate altercation took place, between him, as his Majesty's plenipotentiary, and the gentlemen of the presidency. He requested them to join him in paying the usual honours in delivering his Majesty's letters and presents to the nabob of Arcot, and that they should assist in the ceremonial customary on such occasions, by the personal attendance of the governor and council, the gentlemen of the settlement both civil and military, and by salutes from the forts and ships in the road. But all transactions and negotiations with the princes of India having been hitherto conducted by the Company's servants, who were generally considered as charged with the interest and exercise of the British power in these parts, they declined a compliance with the Plenipotentiary's requisition, lest by their means the influence and concerns of their constituents might suffer diminution.

Notwithstanding the obstinacy of the presidency, Sir John instantly waited on the nabob, and laid his commission and instructions before him. He assured the nabob of his Majesty's friendship and protection, which he was anxious and determined to continue and extend to all his allies in every part of the world, that all the credit and ability of the English administration were pledged to secure the Carnatic to the nabob and his posterity; that whatever his grievances were, he might depend on receiving substantial redress by laying  
them

them at the foot of the throne; and that, as Plenipotentiary from the British court, he was empowered to demand, in his Majesty's name, a complete account of the nabob's transactions with the Company or their agents since the treaty of Paris, as upon correct information his affairs might share the advantage of his Majesty's paternal government.

The nabob replied to these gracious assurances in terms of the sincerest gratitude. Words were, indeed, inadequate to his sentiments. He was at the same time not without his fears, that claiming the attention of the crown might be attended with danger, as the individuals who now filled the presidency might still continue to possess the power which had in so many instances already oppressed him. He was aware the royal interference, however kindly intended, might have a different operation, by the passions of jealousy and chagrin it would infallibly excite. The fate of Surajah Dowlah, Meer Jaffier, and Cossim Ally, were constantly before his eyes, and made him tremble for his own. And he shuddered to give those men offence, whose resentments were implacable in proportion to their power of indulging them. The support, however proper and indispensable to his existence, was moreover distant and uncertain, while the enemy were at hand, and ready to seize every opportunity of wrecking their vengeance on the wretch who, defenceless as he was, durst appeal for protection and relief from the grasp of tyranny, or the rage of speculation.

The constant and familiar intercourse which subsisted between the nabob and the king's minister, was a source of great and habitual uneasiness to the presidency. The animosity which it produced ingrossed their whole attention. A correspondence ensued, in which their passions were not a little inflamed, as their pride was hurt and their characters at issue. The plenipotentiary urged them on topics which they thought were not within his cognizance. His powers authorized him to apply for an accurate statement of all their transactions with the nabob of Arcot since the late treaty of Paris. He announced it also to be his Majesty's pleasure, that he should enquire with the utmost care into the causes of the late war with the Subah of the Decan and Hyder Ally, and the reasons of its unfortunate consequence. These powers he stated in such a striking variety of different and important lights, and pressed them on the gentlemen of the presidency in a manner so forcible and conclusive, that they lost all temper, and had recourse to such passionate and unguarded language, as gave him a manifest advantage in the argument. They steadily persisted, however, in maintaining the ground on which they originally declined acting with him as the minister of the king. They consequently wished him to understand them as finally determined to be heartily disposed to give him their best council, whenever and upon whatever subject he should require it, so far as they deemed themselves at liberty, consistently with their oath and covenant to the Company, and that they should thankfully accept

accept of his counsel and aid upon all such occasions as they were taught or authorised by their constituents to receive or solicit them.

These contests threw the whole presidency into parties, and the nabob's respect for their authority was evidently lessened. The great business of the Carnatic, which was always managed in concert with him, was for the present at a stand, as the nabob presumed on the friendship shewed him by the minister of the crown, and they constantly answered every requisition made to them from him, by seriously observing, that as his Majesty had sent out such extraordinary powers to India, they could do nothing. Thus, by the intrusion of a ministerial manoeuvre, the government of the Company on the Madras establishment underwent a temporary suspension. The Company's servants came at last to the resolution of putting an end to an intercourse, which produced nothing but recrimination. They consequently told the plenipotentiary, very roundly, that they had no leisure for the prosecution of such a warfare. "We desire to take our leave of controversy with you. We have not any time for such an employment. If the Company had thought we should have been thus harassed, they would probably have engaged a proper number of controversial writers in their service. We leave you the field open. Advise us to our duty. Censure us for neglecting it.— Reproach us for ill-using the prince of the country. Continue to plead his cause against the interests and rights of the country. And tell us

“ it is for the benefit of the nation. Assert what you please. Be as severe as you please. We shall be silent here, and if we reply at all, it shall be in another place.”

It is not improbable that the intrigues of the nabob were at the bottom of this political contention. His power, from our exertions in his favour, had by this time obtained a very considerable establishment. He had settled in Madras, with a view, it was believed, of gaining an ascendancy over the gentlemen of the settlement, and by various means to interest them personally in the prosperity of his family and affairs. His army were modelled and disciplined after the European fashion, commanded by English officers, and recruited by vast numbers of fugitive Europeans. His dignity and influence, connected with strong ambition, and specious ability, were, in consequence of these advantages, acknowledged in every part of India.

It was the policy of the times to embrace every object which promised an extension of prerogative. The despotic pursuits of government were sufficiently palpable in an interference with the conduct of the Company, both at home and abroad. Great unpopularity was incurred, and a very serious controversy occasioned by the measure. In following up the same fatal system, it was now conceived that the crown should superintend the affairs of the Company ; and, in consequence of the various oppressions to which the princes in the country were subjected, negotiate treaties, and establish connections in India, totally distinct and separate from  
that



that body. To substantiate a scheme thus favourable to the encroachments of power, Sir John Lindsay had been invested with these extraordinary and alarming powers, in which he now appeared on the coast of Orissa and Coromandel.

Mr. Hastings probably never rendered the Company more essential service, than by his sound and steady advice in the detection and defeat of this contracted policy. He was second in council at the time; and it is not very difficult to perceive his sagacity, perseverance, and discernment, in the manner in which the argument is taken up and prosecuted to a conclusion. Its operation, however, in spite of all their endeavours to keep the natives ignorant of what was going forward, was visible and serious. The servants of the Company had not been very liberal in their descriptions or acknowledgments of any superior authority. The Indian powers at least betrayed their ignorance of that circumstance, by the astonishment they expressed at the intelligence they had probably heard of the king and parliament of Great Britain. But the functions connected with these characters, few or none of them could possibly understand. They considered the Company, perhaps, as the fountain of the British power. They saw their servants enjoying a plenitude of authority which exceeded that of their greatest potentates. They witnessed the superior prowess of their armies, and they constantly heard their orders appealed to as sovereign and incontestible. But when they were told that this omnipotent Company consisted only of a private

vate society of merchants, that none of its members had the honour to fill any important department of state, and that the whole system which they had seen produce such effects in India, and to which they had looked up from the first with reverence and admiration, was still under the check and controul of one every way superior, they awoke as from a dream, and began to regard the individuals, who had degraded their official capacity by venality or insolence, as occupying only a subordinate sphere. They soon found that the powers of this mighty body were only delegated, that they were obtained and held merely for a specific term of years, and that they were to look elsewhere for all future connections. And it is easily conceived how their pride and self-importance would swell, when, instead of abject dependents on the Company or their agents, they were taught to consider themselves as friends, allies, sovereigns and equals, by that supreme over-ruling power with whom, till then, they were in some degree unacquainted.

The gentlemen of the presidency, who were on the same spot, and understood, from long and intimate acquaintance, the temper and sentiments of the natives, in their general letters to the court of Directors, of July, 1771, expose with great energy the pernicious effects of this interference.—  
 “ It has always been our opinion, “ say they, “ that  
 “ with your authority we had that of our sovereign  
 “ and nation delegated to us through you, for ma-  
 “ naging the important concerns of our country,  
 “ under this presidency. It is upon the preva-  
 lence

“ lence of this opinion in India, that our influ-  
“ ence and your interest are vitally founded. It  
“ was in the confidence of this opinion, that your  
“ servants, exerting all their vigour, acquired such  
“ power and wealth for their country. But if this  
“ opinion be forfeited, they can neither act with  
“ spirit nor success; for under the controul of a  
“ superior commission, they dare not, they can-  
“ not exert the powers with which they alone are  
“ entrusted; their weakness and disgrace become  
“ conspicuous, and they are held in derision by  
“ your enemies.”

They continue in a chain of the most forcible and conclusive reasoning to arraign the conduct of ministers, in an attempt to ensnare and surprize them, by the introduction of a power altogether new and extraordinary in these parts. This was not, in their opinion, necessary to heighten their authority, by the sanction of his Majesty's name, which they had without any special interposition, and which, added in this manner, stamped all the former proceedings of the Company with illegality and usurpation. They alledged that it was intended to terrify them into a surrender of their delegated authority, or to render them objects of just proscription. They complained that the plenipotentiary's powers extended only to an uncandid enquiry into their past measures, an ungenerous censure of their conduct, a demand of their records, a partial indication of the nabob's allegations, in opposition to the rights of the Company, and a general deportment tending to diminish their consequence

quence in the eyes of their allies and enemies.— They considered it as unconstitutional, to apply the great seal of Great Britain to the hidden purposes of *lettres de cachet*, or to send out secretly the whole powers of prerogative, for the sole end of oppressing the Company's servants, in a situation where they could have no possible recourse to the advice of law. They regarded themselves as their predecessors were, the only legal representatives of the British government in that remote part of his Majesty's dominions. Officers of the highest commission from the crown had acted under them, as in other colonies of the empire. And they did not think themselves at liberty to surrender their authority, in defiance of their duty to their sovereign, their country, or their trust. They had no such intimation from the Directors, their immediate superiors. And they concluded by observing, that the forces they commanded should forthwith be consigned into the hands of the crown, and transferred with the plenary powers to the absolute direction and disposal of his Majesty's minister.

The side to which the nabob leaned during the pendency of this ardent contest, the solicitude of the Plenipotentiary to interest himself in his affairs, and the ardour which appeared in his correspondence with the presidency to criminate the manner in which they had conducted themselves to that prince, interrupted for a while the harmony which had formerly subsisted between the servants of the Company and their ally. An event, however, was now on the tapis, which in its formation, progress,  
and

and termination, seems to have quashed all differences, and united them more intimately than ever.

The Carnatic was not only infested by straggling parties of the Marrattos, and various groupes of banditti which hovered on its frontiers, but several of its dependent Rajahs, Zemindars, and Polygars, were still refractory, and declined the punctual discharge of their respective tributes. Most of these were easily reduced. The King of Tanjore was the most formidable. He was connected with some of the most respectable powers in India. His wealth, on such a theatre of political venality, rendered his situation at once invidious and conspicuous. For here, more perhaps than in any other country, the only infallible protection against depredation and outrage is poverty and insignificance.

This Rajah, who owes so much celebrity to his sufferings, is one of those Gentoo princes whose ancestors were never entirely subdued by the Tartars. He had been for years in the strictest alliance with the Company and the nabob, and engaged with them in the joint perils and fortunes of former wars. By the treaty of Paris, Salabatjing was recognized subah of the Decan, and Mahomed Ali Cawn nabob of the Carnatic. These arrangements were chiefly prescribed by the English, and the Mogul readily granted, from time to time, such powers on his part as were necessary to give them validity and effect. Accounts were consequently liquidated, and a convention, under the authority and guarantee of the Company, between  
their

their own allies, immediately took place for that purpose. Whatever arrears were due to the Mogul, as well as his future tribute, the nabob of Arcot was appointed to receive, with the allowance of a handsome premium for his trouble. The Company reserved to themselves the right of seeing this trust properly fulfilled. The right of the Rajah to his several dominions were likewise established. Subsequent to these transactions the nabob and Rajah were connected in a variety of undertakings. In settling their respective claims, in consequence of these new engagements, the Rajah insisted that he ought to be allowed for certain military services performed for the nabob; and the nabob, that he was entitled to the sums stipulated by the late convention, without any abatement.

The several powers in whose measures the presidency at this time were most deeply interested, were the Marrattos, the Nabob, and the Rajah.— The former discovered the strongest anxiety for engaging the Company in an offensive alliance, not for their assistance in the field. They were themselves more than a match for Hyder Ally.— But they very sincerely wished to inveigle us into such a connection, as might determine us to take an active part in the destruction of his capitals; that they might have nothing further to dread from our subsequent attachment to the fortunes of their enemy. To this measure the Nabob had taught them to believe, that they had it in their power to threaten or compel us when they pleased. And he was the more interested in the accomplishment  
of

of such an alliance, that he expected to have obtained in return a considerable share of the conquered territories. The king of Tanjore had always been apprehensive that the Nabob wished to possess himself of his country the moment he was able, but his apprehensions were more than ever confirmed, since the arrival of the British Plenipotentiary. He was consequently desirous of involving the Carnatic, in proportion as his own safety depended on the inability of the Nabob. And the Marrattos seemed prepared for any enterprize that would most effectually prevent our assisting Hyder, and command our acquiescence in the terms they proposed.

It might have been expected, that, thus situated, the presidency of Madras would have endeavoured to compromise the difference between the Nabob and the Rajah. They adopted, however, an opposite policy, and laid it down as a principle in their consultations on the subject, that the Rajah was by much too powerful for his situation, and that his reduction was in some degree necessary to the peace of the Carnatic. Under the influence of this conclusion, an expedition against Tanjore was planned and executed, in concert with the Nabob, in the latter end of 1771. The king's minister on the coast was accessary to the measure, and gave it all the encouragement in his power, though the season obliged him to leave the road before its completion.

The Company's troops were commanded by General Smith, who was enjoined to do nothing but

but with the advice of Omdal ul Omrah Behauder, the nabob's eldest son. The army was thirty-six days before Tanjore. A breach was made in the walls, which the English, in revenge for the lives that were lost before the place, panted to storm. There was not an individual in the army who doubted the success of the enterprize, when the young nabob prevented the hazard of a repulse, by concluding a peace with the Rajah. The army were enraged from their disappointment of the plunder they expected from the capture of the town. It was an event so little foreseen, that the news of it was every where received with surprise. The terms, though adequate to the causes assigned for the war, were not satisfactory. The Nabob's son protested that he was guided by the advice of General Smith, and that matters were precipitated by the severity of the rains, the sickness which prevailed in the camp, and a strong probability that the Marrattos approached to the relief of Tanjore. The general considered the honour of the army as sacrificed in this instance, by a conspiracy between the Nabob and his son. The Nabob found it also convenient to dissemble the greatest chagrin and resentment at a transaction so unequal to his wishes. But the displeasure of the presidency was expressed in the most pointed and explicit language. They declare to General Smith, " That in the  
" very commencement of peace they should be  
" providing as if they were on the very eve of a  
" war." The principles, however, in which the unpopularity of the peace originated are pretty obvious.



obvious. The legal claims of the troops to the booty, which the riches of the rajah promised on the reduction of his capital were defeated. The creditors of the Nabob had been given to understand, at the same time, that the treasures of Tanjore would be put in his possession; and that their accounts would be liquidated. The government of Madras was also deceived. Co-operating with the nabob, in his hostilities against their ally, put an end to their connection; and as it destroyed all his future expectations in the treaty of Paris, it exposed the Carnatic to the exasperated intrigues of a man whose situation had become desperate.

All the hopes which the Nabob had entertained of support from the crown, in opposition to the interest of the Company, as exhibited and maintained by their servants, were, as he had shrewdly suspected, ultimately visionary. The remonstrances of Sir John Lindsay had, perhaps, not sufficiently consulted the personal consequence of the gentlemen who managed the concerns of the Company, to produce any substantial effect. He was superseded by Sir Robert Harland in the same important trust, who was invested by the same powers, and instructed to persevere in accomplishing the same object. His reception, notwithstanding the orders of the Directors to treat him with all that politeness and respect due to his station and character, was still cold and distant. He avowed it as one principal end of his commission, to urge the claims of the Nabob, and to obtain, if possible, a more sedulous attention to his interests, from the

gentlemen of the presidency. He asserted the right which the Nabob had to rely for support and protection from the crown. He reprobated with severity the opposition given to the least appearance of substantiating these natural and well-grounded expectations. He resolved the obvious jealousy which influenced the members of the council into a narrow and mistaken policy. And he upbraided them with censuring a measure which he conceived to be the sacred privilege of Majesty. This, however, proved to be no more than the strong unmeaning phrapology of official profession. The British government was too wise to persist in realizing projects incompatible with the Company's prosperity. The firmness of the presidency disposed Sir Robert to relax his tone. When the passions of both parties gave way to mature reflections, mutual complaisance took place, and a cordial exchange of good offices distinguished their subsequent intercourse. They were henceforth as closely united in facilitating, as they had widely differed before in their opinions concerning the interests of the Nabob. He was himself the sole occasion of the controversy, and it afforded him those useful instructions, that all application to other resources than his own prudence for redress under the wrongs he suffered from the presidency, were vain and nugatory; that, as he was circumstanced, no system whatever would operate effectual relief, in which their station, their consequence, and their expectations, were not properly consulted; and that the most solemn assurances of  
European

European monarchs were not more certain or unequivocal, than those of Indian Rajahs, Nabobs, Governors and Subahs.

The only active service which the troops had undertaken, subsequent to the Tanjore expedition, was the reduction of the Marawar and Nalcooty Polligars. These countries lie by the sea side, on the frontier of Tanjore, and have always been deemed dependencies of the Carnatic. They are inhabited by a brave, industrious, and independent people, who, from their habits of life, their mode of defence, their natural situation, and their contempt of danger, have never perhaps been wholly subdued. Inaccessible hills, and impenetrable woods, afford them a secure retreat from every enemy. To these fastnesses they retire when pursued, and issue from them at pleasure, to take advantage of the invaders. They have always held their lands by a kind of military tenure, by which they attend their respective chieftains to the field. They are fierce and barbarous to none but such as visit them with hostile intentions. They have the craftiness of all rude nations beset with powerful neighbours, anxious to reduce and enslave them. The Nabob avows no other reason for invading the powerful habitations of these innocent people, but that they were backward to pay a tribute extorted from them by force of arms. And he seems to have been suspected both by the gentlemen of the council and the officers of the army, to aim rather at extirpation than conquest. The fortifications, though numerous, were only defended by a rabble,

and consequently soon reduced. It was impossible to draw the enemy into any formal engagement. On the approach of the English, expecting a continuation of their ancient privileges, they remained at their ploughs, and in some measure facilitated the means of conquering their chiefs. When most of the forts had fallen into our hands, they remained for the most part neutral, until they understood that the Nabob meant to rob them of those lands which they hoped to have retained. This policy threw the whole country into a flame. The ploughman every where took arms, and the villages were instantly converted into so many camps of observation. Soldiers as well as ploughmen, they could appear in what shape they pleased, with or without arms, but were sure never to expose themselves but where they had manifestly the advantage. It was therefore represented to the Nabob, and the Presidency, in a manner that did honour to the feelings of Colonel Bonjour, who commanded in the Nalcooty province, that this mode of settling the country would require extremities of a shocking nature. Nor then would he promise, that matters should be so adjusted as to produce satisfaction. He stated, that the villages were generally abandoned by the men as the troops advanced; that whatever baggage remained behind with such straggling parties as followed the detachment, were taken by those villagers; that as the aggressors were not to be found, and reprisals were indispensable, he was under the necessity of burning the cottages of the poor, and otherwise punishing.

punishing the innocent and helpless, who, incapable as they were of doing them any injury, could neither escape nor resist the resentment of an enraged soldiery.

It is observable in the history of these transactions, how often the most shocking details of war, from scenes of cruelty and horror, are replete with lessons of mercy. But these descriptions, even under the sanction of official dispatches, are seldom interesting to trading politicians, whose minds are solely engrossed by articles of loss and gain, who send forth their armies, as they do their ships, on principles of calculation, and who estimate their military operations only by the sources of profit which they lay open, or the means of speculation which they procure. These humane emotions in the breast of a soldier, instead of exciting any sympathetic sensations, were repressed by the studied silence of the council, and he was coolly enjoined to continue his exertions, which he did until the death of Tandwaray Pilla, the chief of the country, rendered them unnecessary.

This disgraceful campaign seems no improper epitome of all the Company's wars in the vicinity of their several settlements. Whatever country promises the cheapest conquest, answers most effectually the views of ambition, or is on the whole best calculated to repay the expence of exterminating its inhabitants, falls within the fatal circle of their military instructions. And whether it is situated on the one extremity of Indostan or the other, the Company's allies must be assisted,

their troops employed, their territories enlarged, their treasure improved. Though the people who, in these cases, never have the faculty of election, would rather embrace than oppose them, though their manners may be as unprovoking as their lives may be useful, they may unfortunately have offended some base unprincipled knave of state, who has the address to satiate his revenge on his foes by means of his friends. It was thus with Rohilcund, with Nalcooty, and with Marawar. General Smith headed the expedition against this district in person. No regular force once appeared to intercept his march. The natives only made a stand in the defence of Ramanadaporam, the capital of the province, the seat of their government, the residence of their chiefs, and the stronghold where they deposited their treasure, and to which they repaired on the appearance of danger. The British artillery soon breached the walls, and Major Braithewaite's grenadiers carried the assault sword in hand. The Goleries were animated with fury. There were in the fort about three thousand armed men. A few took refuge in the palace, and saved their lives, as the first confusion was over before our troops advanced; but far the greater number bravely died in the breach, or threw themselves over the walls. In this manner was an expedition of the Company's troops completed, about the beginning of 1773, in which the most remarkable transaction is perhaps the recrimination which took place between the young Nabob and the officers of the British army, concerning the distribution of the booty.—

When

When he was but hissed by the soldiers who fought his battles, the gentlemen of the presidency were alarmed, resented the insult, and interrogated the general. The remonstrance of those who conceived their interest affected by his avarice, was even construed into an indignity, and their cause abandoned by their employers, that the embarrassments of their ally might not be said to originate in council. So wonderfully delicate was their tenderness for the Nabob of Arcot. It was not enough to say, that an apparent neglect of ceremony, where an individual alone was concerned, affected them much more deeply than the massacre of thousands. But there was no channel by which the misfortunes of these wretched mortals could possibly touch their hearts. It was only to the etiquette of humanity that these doughty arbiters of national destiny were callous or inattentive\*.

Notwithstanding the constant attention which those transactions required, both from the Nabob and the Presidency, they lost no time or opportunity of watching the King of Tanjore. It was the misfortune of this prince, that he was reputed to be immensely rich; that he possessed one of the most valuable districts in the Carnatic, and that so contiguous to the presidency, and surrounded by the territories of the Nabob, he presumed to assert his independence. These were the true causes of the original quarrel taken up against him. The termination of this had left the ally and servants of the Company very much dissatisfied. Solicitous

\* Rous's Appendix, page 941.

for a breach of the friendship then subsisting, his minutest actions were critically inspected. The connections which had always been cultivated between him and the neighbouring powers were imputed to intrigues with the enemies of the Carnatic. The Nabob was incensed that the Polligars, whom he had so lately expelled, should find an asylum in Tanjore; the garrison at Vellum not having been provided for in the late treaty, were not sufficiently supplied with provisions; the Collicers, who live on the frontiers of his country, had seized some cattle from the province of Trichinopoly; a trifling debt which he owed the Company for paddy had not been discharged, and he was in arrears to the Nabob. These were the mighty reasons which decided the fate of the Rajah. He saw the storm that gathered around him. He knew the Nabob to be inexorable, and that the whole strength of the Company would be exerted to substantiate his most inordinate demands. He was in the condition of a person struggling for life, where every other idea is absorbed in that of self-preservation. The only powers who could afford him adequate security from the impending danger, were Hyder Ally and the Marrattos. With both he endeavoured to procure such assistance as the exigencies of his situation required. But he was certainly not chargeable with treachery, or a just object of hostility or destruction, because impelled in this manner to an equivocal conduct, adopted or avoided upon the instant, to prevent his ruin.

The



The Nabob, perfectly acquainted with the mode of securing the co-operation of the Company's forces, easily prevailed with the Presidency to appoint a second expedition against Tanjore with a large army. Without fixing any precise terms for the Company, they engaged to place the fort, when taken, in his hands, with whatever stores or effects it might contain. But in case it should be captured by storm, the plunder was to be the property of the troops. The Rajah was not to be attacked unprepared. Though neither Hyder Ally nor the Mafrattos would take an active part in the conquest, he found means to muster twenty thousand men, whom he armed in his cause. These were commanded by the aged, but faithful and brave Monajee. Both Danes and Dutch are said to have secretly assisted him with men, money and stores. Our troops entered his territories in the beginning of August, 1773. On the sixth of the same month, a skirmish happened between a party of the Nabob's cavalry and the enemy, in which the former had the advantage. The detail of the siege contained nothing very important or peculiar. On the twentieth, ground was broken before the place; the twenty-seventh, our batteries were opened, but a practicable breach was not effected before the seventeenth of September, when the fort was rather surprised than stormed, at noon, under a most intense heat, and while the garrison were at viſuals in their own houses. The Rajah and his family, with Monajee and his sons, were made

made prisoners; and the Nabob, having agreed to satisfy the army, the place was not plundered.

The news of this conquest were received in England with universal reprobation and disgust.— It is hard to say which were most severely criminated, the intrigues of the Nabob, or the temerity of the council. The measure was considered as repugnant to the policy of the Company, and to the spirit of those orders which their servants were in the habit of receiving from the Directors. The only remedy which could be applied under these circumstances, was the immediate restoration of the Rajah. And the great difficulty to be resolved was, how this resolution could be executed.— Their servants on the spot, whose seals were set to the outrage which it was deemed so necessary to redress, could not be entrusted with the carrying into effect a plan so obviously intended to fix a stigma on their former conduct. The many eminent and important services which the Company owed to Lord Pigot, while last governor of Madras, suggested the idea of sending him out a-new with full powers for accomplishing the views of this delicate and arduous commission. He was in high estimation for his civil administration, his military exertions, and his private character. From his appearance as governor and president of Madras, where he had acquired the most general and well-grounded respect, very sanguine expectations were entertained. The Nabob, however, not a little anxious to defeat the intentions of the Directors, borrowed prodigious sums of money from the mem-  
bers

bers of the presidency, and others whose influence he thought worthy of purchase. A profusion of corruption not only took place in Madras, but is said to have extended to England, where an inundation of artful apologies for his conduct, replete with the most pointed invectives against the king of Tanjore, deluged, at least for some time, the public attention. It was about the latter end of 1775, that the noble Governor arrived at Fort Saint George. He announced to the Nabob of Arcot the contents of his commission, as soon as the various formalities essential to a legal assumption of government had taken place. The Nabob was not backward to maintain the ground in which he thought himself securely entrenched. He insisted on his claim to the country, by all the laws of India, and his treaties with the Company. His representations were without effect. Lord Pigot thought it his indispensable duty to see the orders of his constituents literally fulfilled. This he effected early in the Spring of 1776. The disputes that followed were peculiarly violent, obstinate and personal. Every subsequent regulation he proposed, met, from seven members of the council, with an ardent and inveterate opposition. It is said Tanjore had been pledged to these men as a security for the property which they had trusted in the Nabob's hands. This; they apprehended, would be lost, on the restoration of the Rajah; and they were not without suspicion, that the debt itself would be found in no better predicament. And when they became intemperate, his Lordship did not

not certainly preserve his moderation. Their differing so widely from him in opinion, on grounds which struck him at least as equivocal, the consequence he derived from the confidence of his employers, the honourable manner in which the merit of his former conduct had been acknowledged, and the necessity he conceived himself under, of losing no time in realizing the arrangements prescribed by the Directors, added to the natural severity of a carriage by no means conciliating, precipitated him in measures which it is impossible to justify. He advised Messrs. Stratton and Brook, that as he had something to propose in council which concerned them personally, it would be decent for them to withdraw. They implicitly complied with his request, and were instantly suspended by his casting vote. Sir Robert Flecher, commander in chief, was at the same time, and on the same account, laid under arrest.

This arbitrary conduct in the Governor was eagerly adopted by the secluded members as a precedent for justifying the step they had meditated. They instantly determined to secure the person of the president, and effect such a revolution in the settlement, as should put the power entirely into their own hands. Colonel Stuart had of course succeeded to the command of the forces. Any violence offered to his Lordship within the precincts of the fort, would subject the actors to the penalty of the mutiny-act. From this situation, however, he was artfully inveigled, in consequence of reposing an implicit trust in the fidelity and friendship  
of

## TRANSACTIONS IN INDIA.

of the commander in chief. This gentleman passed several hours in the morning with Lord Pigot, on terms of the most unreserved and cordial intimacy. He prevailed on the Governor to sleep for that night at the villa where he generally retired in the evening. The Colonel invited himself to a seat in his Lordship's carriage. They were scarce half a mile from the fort, when Colonel Edington rode up, waved his naked sword over the horses' heads, and called out, *Sipoy!* Captain Lyfaught at the head of a party, instantly rushed to the door of the chaise, and presenting a pistol, told his Lordship that he was his prisoner. Colonel Stuart, having no longer occasion for disguise, tore off the mask, and seizing his Lordship rudely by the arm, bid him *Get out.* They precipitated him into a carriage that waited for the purpose, hurried him to the Mount, and delivered him into the custody of Major Horne, the commanding officer there, with a declaration, that, if a rescue was attempted, his Lordship's life should answer for it.

The circumstances to which his Lordship was reduced by these violent proceedings were now perilous in the extreme. His friends were scattered, over-awed, and kept at a distance. The strength of the guards placed about him, the strictness of his confinement, and the menacing orders under which he was committed, were calculated to impress him with an apprehension of the most fatal consequences. His chief resource in this melancholy situation was in the firmness of his own mind, which, in one instance at least was probably the means

means of preserving his life. One night he was suddenly awaked by the arrival of an officer with a party of horse, who brought a peremptory order for his removal, without specifying whether he was to be carried, or how accommodated. His Lordship addressed himself briefly to the soldiers. He desired them to recollect who he was, the services he had formerly executed, the honours he had honestly acquired, and the condition to which, without indictment or trial, he was now reduced. He called upon them as men, as Christians, as Britons, or even as soldiers, whether they could bear to see him dragged away to be murdered in so base, so cowardly, so inhuman a manner. He declared, at the same time, and with a manliness that shook the most resolute of the assassins, that they might now do their worst, kill him, or tear him to pieces. These were acts which he could not prevent, but they were to be done upon the spot, from which he was determined they should not take him alive.

The majority, in consequence of this manœuvre, assumed, under a course of legal forms, all the powers of government. They arraigned the conduct of his Lordship in terms of peculiar asperity, and vindicated their own as a duty to which they had been impelled by necessity. They alledged that he had trampled on the most material of the Company's bye-laws, and, by a non-compliance with some specific clauses of the regulating act, had forfeited all right to preside in council. The principal leader in the conspiracy was consequently appointed

appointed his successor in the government. The very measure for which they blamed him most was the first they adopted. His friends were violently expelled from their seat in the council. Both parties sent expresses to England, the one to arraign, the other to justify, what had happened.

To this outrageous and unexpected revolution, the members composing the supreme government of Bengal gave their unequivocal approbation.— However their opinions clashed in other particulars, they united in supporting the conduct of the majority. It was impossible, indeed, for these gentlemen to act otherwise. The eagerness of the governor-general to avow so decided an opinion in favour of the usurpers, it was probably expected, would operate as a pledge or guarantee, in opposition to the apprehension, that he might be tempted to extricate himself from the embarrassments under which he laboured, by a similar expedient. It was at the same time the interest of those who constituted a majority of that board, to support a precedent which not only justified their strenuous opposition to the chair, but set them an example of acting with vigour and spirit in the last extremity.

The Major's court in Madras displayed a spirit and coolness on this emergency, which certainly did the members of it peculiar honour, and was not expected. Mr. Turing, who was then major, owes but little to his education or his parentage.— His father was a Scotsman, and lived and died in the humble occupation of a barber in London.— It was the oddity of the father that disposed Sir  
Charles

Charles Raymond to procure for the son the appointment of a writer in the Company's service. He rose through a variety of the subordinate stages in the civil establishment, until it was his turn to preside in this court. He openly and steadily reprobated the violence of the successful party. The far greater part of the British inhabitants were of the same opinion. The injury done to the interest of the Company, in the outrage of Lord Pigot, was in fact regarded every where with the most general and serious condemnation.

The Company at home entered on the discussion of the subject without loss of time. The friends of the different parties crowded to the scene of altercation. The contest was supported with warmth and vigour on both sides. After the matter, however, had been long and ably argued in the court of Directors; it was finally submitted to the decision of the proprietors at large, who in general court, March 26, 1777, agreed upon a resolution, which was also confirmed, on a ballot, by a great majority, recommending to the court of Directors to take the most effectual measures for restoring Lord Pigot to the full exercise of the powers vested in him by the Company, as governor and president of the settlement of Madras; and for enquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment, and in dispossessing him of the exercise of the legal powers wherewith he was invested.

The result of this important decision was, that the court of Directors adopted the resolution of restoring his Lordship to the full exercise of the office



office and powers from which he had been thus violently degraded. His four friends, who were ejected from the council, the court also reinstated. The usurpers were at the same time suspended. A new government was nominated, in which Mr. Rumbold was appointed second in council, and of course to succeed Lord Pigot in the chair. Nor did the conduct of Lord Pigot pass without censure.

Those resolutions, though calculated to compromise the dispute, only produced new animosity.— Ministerial influence, Mahomedan intrigues, and the friends of the majority, at last carried the point so far against the friends of Lord Pigot, as under an appearance of accommodating the difference subsisting between them, to procure a ballot in favour of a motion for ordering all the parties cognizable by the laws of England home to take their trial. Such a strange and sudden revolution in the orders of the Company, was seriously astonishing to every one not thoroughly initiated in the mysteries of their politics.

Governor Johnstone, however, the avowed friend of his Lordship, forthwith brought the question before a higher tribunal. He moved the House of Commons for several resolutions, which went to a strong approbation of Lord Pigot's conduct as governor, a confirmation of all those late acts of the Company, which had either passed in his favour, or condemned the conduct of the majority who deposed him, and a formal revocation of the resolution for his recal.

The Nabob of Arcot has generally been considered as having a principal share in these turbulent movements. A parliamentary investigation bared the iniquitous plot, and demonstrated, in a satisfactory manner, that the council of Madras, his Majesty's ministers, and the whole machinery of the British government, were under the secret controul of this Tartar Prince \*. The House was fully in possession of the subject, by the presence of the parties most deeply concerned in the discussion, and the persons whose talents, situation, and industry, afforded the best information. The several arguments for and against the motion, which had been broached in the court of Directors, and by the proprietors at large, were consequently urged and refuted, with all the eloquence of the British senate.

The gentlemen who opposed the motion arraigned the arbitrary government of Lord Pigot, in the most unqualified terms. They alledged that his confinement was the unavoidable result of a violence, which, on his part, threatened an immediate subversion of all legal authority; that in circumstances when accusations of singular delinquency were made on all sides, and the leading evidences of facts depended on the presence of the parties, it was proper and equitable, that all of them should be in England, where only a just and impartial enquiry into their conduct was practicable; that reinstating the late government would

\* Debret's Parliamentary Register, including the Debate of May 22, 1777.

operate in the Company's settlements as an approbation of his Lordship's outrages, and leave all their faithful servants, who had risked so much in promoting their service at the mercy of their inveterate enemy. And with all the virtues ascribed to his Lordship, while the individuals who had been most active in his overthrow were within his reach, and he had power to punish them, who would answer for the consequences. The presidency appeared to them, in its present state of dissension and distraction, to have altogether disqualified itself for managing the Company's affairs.— Every species of evil which negligence, the blindness of passion, the obstinacy of prejudice, or the impetuosity of party rage, were capable of producing, might therefore be expected. To continue the council, thus circumstanced, was to hazard every thing valuable on that establishment; and matters of the last importance to the British interest, in these parts, ought not, in their opinion, to be intrusted with men so violently agitated by a personal struggle for power. They treated the dangerous influence attributed to the Nabob as chimerical and absurd. They described him as in a state of the most abject dependence, without either force to controul, or wealth to undermine. And they boldly and vehemently declared, that all the allegations concerning his intrigues and bribery, whether in India or England, were equally unfounded, and originated only in the idle conjecture, or malicious suggestions of those who wished to injure his interest.

interest, or were utterly unacquainted with his character or circumstances.

The reply to these arguments was not less spirited or explicit. The genius of a Burke, a Fox, and a Johnstone, was never exerted, or struck the house with greater splendour or more irresistible energy. The whole proceedings which led to the present anarchy in the Presidency of Madras were stated with force and precision, and the delegated authority under which the Company's servants acted, was liberally and impartially discussed. Governor Johnstone opened the business, in a speech of above two hours, in which he detailed the transactions of the Carnatic and Tanjore with his usual ability, and every appearance of liberal and authentic information. He justified Lord Pigot, by such a statement of facts as could not be contradicted. His Lordship, he averred, had committed no violence, which, as an honest man who wished to fulfil his engagements, he could avoid. He censured the motions of Sir H. Macworth in the India-house for the recal of his Lordship, as confounding the innocent with the guilty, and forming a barefaced apology for the grossest usurpation. And he thought the intrigues of the Nabob, even in this country, to be too palpable and operative, to be either overlooked or denied. The gentleman who seconded the motion, scrupled not to affirm, that the council who had assumed the power of the Presidency received for their exertions from the Nabob, the enormous bribe of eight hundred thousand pounds, in mortgages on the Tanjore country.

country. The tone of the debate was equally supported by the speakers who followed. The resolutions in which the argument originated were exposed with infinite wit and ridicule to the contempt and derision of the house. They were contradictory, and impracticable. They prescribed an equal punishment for those who did and those who did not their duty, for those who had proved faithful to their trust, and those who had proved treacherous, and they involved principles of retribution which existed in no other part of the world. They asserted, that Government here had actually been bought to vindicate by its sanction the iniquitous cause of a faction there. In this manner a combination among the Proprietors was formed, and influenced by motives of immediate convenience, to endanger their own interest in the Company. The honour of a tried and able servant, and the rights of a faithful ally, were, as they apprehended, grossly and wantonly sacrificed. To accomplish this unworthy purpose, the remotest dock-yards had been recently stript of their inhabitants, and all the various departments of state in every corner of the kingdom evacuated to carry a question in the India-House. All this, and every other mischief that had lately happened, or might still be apprehended, on the coast of Coromandel, they roundly attributed to the measure which had been adopted of sending plenipotentiaries to negotiate treaties with the country powers, independent of the Company, and in direct violation of her chartered rights. They foresaw the interposition of ministry in Leadenhall

denhall and India had hitherto been equally ruinous, and would ultimately prove fatal. What they could not do here was generally effected on the spot. The Directors were ciphers the moment they differed from his Majesty's ministers, and their orders, without the approbation of Government, only proved in India words without meaning.— The Company had no longer any authority over its own servants. Seperate interests were formed, and factions established, in all its settlements and dependencies, and its former influence and respectability with the powers of the empire were no more. There was not a principle urged in behalf of this recal which might not warrant the recal of all the governors and councils, with every other description of men with whom the civil or criminal administration was lodged; in our settlements or colonies in every part of the world. The presence of faction would always be at hand to justify every outrage. It was by the operations of this powerful and dangerous engine, a popular credulity, that tyranny became gigantic, monstrous, and detestable! The Nabob could not wish for a method better calculated to gratify the most sanguine inclination of his nature. It had no other tendency than to establish that independence, which he so anxiously desired. Whenever any of his designs were controverted, he could be at no loss how to procure a majority of the council. His treasures would operate on all future emergencies as it had done on this, and the Company would find it difficult to prevent the recal of any servant, however worthy,

worthy, popular or able, when hardy enough to undertake their orders with upright intentions.

The question being at last put, at one o'clock in the morning, [May 22, 1777,] the motion of Governor Johnstone was rejected, by a majority of twenty-three. All the exertions of his friends, however, had they been crowned with success, were now too late. For, after being in confinement for a period of near nine months, harrassed by the difficulties of a most critical situation, agitated by the workings of various passions excited by the extraordinary circumstances in which he was involved, and labouring under the pressure which he felt from the gloomy aspect which the Company's affairs every where exhibited; he died on the 18th of May, 1777; probably of a broken heart. His brother, Admiral Pigot, moved and carried next year, some time in April\*, in the House of Commons, for an address, "praying his Majesty, " that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to his Attorney-General to prosecute " George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Flower, and George Mackay, Esquires, for ordering their Governor and Commander in chief, " George Lord Pigot, to be arrested and confined " under a military force, they being returned to " England, and now within the jurisdiction of his " Majesty's courts of Westminster-Hall."

It came out in evidence, before the bar of the House, on this occasion, that George Dawson,

\* Debret's Parliamentary Register of this date.

Esq; who was a member of council during the heat of the contest, was positively offered by the Nabob's son no less a sum than forty thousand pounds, only for staying away one particular day, on which a question of consequence, relative to Tanjore, was to be agitated. It was certainly not unnatural for the friends, at least, of Lord Pigot, to presume from a fact thus specific, flagrant and authentic, that those applications could hardly be confined solely to Mr. Dawson.

In stating an impartial estimate of this important transaction, however, certain allowances ought no doubt to be made, for the joint influence of situation and emergency; the sympathy which it is so natural to feel for the weakest, who in every serious struggle must always be the suffering party; the general operation of his Lordship's high character in his favour, the obvious prepossessions under which he was invested with the government of the presidency, the prior obloquy, whether just or not, which rested on the conduct of the Company's servants, and that unavoidable crimination with which we instinctively connect the violence of the exertion with the interest and magnitude of the object.

Whatever may be said of his Lordship's abilities, great reverence and admiration are certainly due to the memory of his virtues. His former government in India was at least respectable. It exhibited both sagacity and vigour of enterprize. The situation in which he died gives the lie to all the surmises of a Benfield and others, who sought, for  
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their profligate opposition to his government, an excuse in his want of integrity. For he withstood a temptation of six hundred thousand pounds, to forbear only for a short given time carrying the orders of his constituents into effect. And it is no contemptible proof how far he was superior to that general and fashionable corruption which then predominated, that his houses and effects in India were all sold to discharge the debts he had there contracted. Various opinions, it is probable, may long be entertained, concerning the mode which he ought to have preferred in managing a refractory majority of council; but his error can never justify the outrage to which his person and government were subjected, by those who deposed and imprisoned him. And it will be remembered, when all the sophistry by which the truth has been so much obscured and disguised is forgotten, that his oppressors were solemnly pronounced guilty by a jury of their countrymen.

## C H A P T E R VII.

*The Regulating Act—Institution of the Supreme Council—Character of its Members—Posture of Affairs on the Continent of India—Government of the Majority—They censure the System of the former Administration—Condemn the Rohilla war, which Mr. Hastings defends, and withholds his Correspondence with the Resident—The Troops recalled from that Expedition—Treatment of the Great Mogul—Operations of the Army—The Governor-General charged with corrupt Practices before the Board—Death of Sujah ul Dowlah—The Story of Nancomar—Effects of these Alterations in England.*

**T**HE politics of the East-India Company are so extensive and complicated in their operations, and so generally destructive in their effects, that Indostan perhaps is the only country in the world where they could have commanded the least prosperity. Independent of enormous charges habitually incurred by an endless series of expensive and important establishments in every department of state, the resources of this great and opulent empire are loaded with that vast and permanent commercial system, which is the ultimate and ostensible object of the whole arrangement. The safety, the happiness, and the prosperity of the subject, which ought to be the principal and invariable concern  
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of Government, are lost in a perpetual solicitude to increase the treasure of the Company, to furnish their annual investments, to supply their expenditure, and to accumulate the fortunes of individuals.

It is a fundamental maxim in the best regulated system of finance, to assess the public in proportion only to its real exigence, and to apply with a conscientious exactness whatever surplus may remain to meliorate these assessments. In the Government of the Company, however, this principle is impracticable. Those trading potentates have a personal and private interest at home, to which their possessions and dominions abroad are merely subservient. And all the ravages and merciless devastations which so invariably characterize the British conquests and authority in India, have certainly originated in a settled predilection for this interest. The resources of the country are consequently exhausted to supply a constant exportation of its wealth, for which it has no return; to enrich individuals, who reserve their expenditure for another climate; and to answer the exigences of a system from which it derives no adequate benefit. Here the prodigious deficiencies in the aggregate produce of territory and commerce, which often fall upon the Company's affairs with such a pressure as threatens their extinction, invariably arise: this accounts for all the various and frequent embarrassments into which they are plunged both in India and England. A vein is thus opened, or rather a vessel burst, in the body politic, by which the

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the vital fountain which feeds the current of its health and vigour is suddenly and sensibly diminished. This incessant and increasing drain, by which the exuberance of the east has rushed like a flood, for above half a century, upon almost every nation in Europe, could not have been at any time supplied by ordinary means. In fact, a standard of acquisition was early established in that country, on principles of violence and venality, which it has been the uniform ambition of all succeeding adventurers to equal, and in many instances to surpass.—The only system of buying and selling established by the servants of the Company, especially since their assumption of sovereignty in Bengal, has been to seize by force what goods they please, and at their own price, and by the same means to dispose of them.

These requisitions, accompanied by an authority that was omnipotent, were answered for some time with punctuality. And the disbursements of that transitory period did not exceed the profits of the Company. When once those, however, who had lands, were wantonly deprived of them, when there remained no more money to be extorted; when the manufactures of the mechanic were torn from his loom; when the farmer, and even the Ryot, were robbed of their rice; and when the Zimindar, no longer able or willing to prostitute the honour of his family, or the riches of his ancestors, for the private purchase of protection, fell a sacrifice to rapacity, this enormous flux of wealth obviously decreased; British adventurers, at the  
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head of armies, though ardent and indefatigable in their duty of exploring and plundering a defenceless people, were satisfied, after a series of the most shocking experiments, to admit the humiliating maxim, that the only permanent and solid resources of a commercial country do not consist in contributions raised by military coercion, but in a sedulous cultivation of the soil, in the improvement of manufacture, in the industry, the population, the general and domestic felicity of its inhabitants. Revenues, supplied by means exterior to these, must be as precarious in their nature, as they are flagitious in the acquisition. And it is not more absurd to expect life without sustenance, or strength without health, than that a government, in the common operations of which there is neither honour nor humanity, should, for any length of time, be either prosperous or lasting.

The situation of the Company, in 1772, demonstrates the truth of this observation. Their circumstances at that time were so critical and equivocal, that they were universally deemed on the very eve of bankruptcy. The general aspect of their affairs was every where alike gloomy and foreboding. Their government at home and abroad was equally without firmness and efficiency. Venality, luxury, and inattention, had pervaded, relaxed, and invigorated every spring in the system.—The country was wasted and depopulated by extortion, by famine, and by emigration; the army, in various situations, were the victims of inactivity, or the instruments of outrage; the treasury was empty.

empty, and the annual stipulation appropriated to government unpaid. ✓ The pressure of these united difficulties was the more sensibly felt by the Directors, that the Bengal bills were now almost due.— They were impelled to make application to Ministry, for new pecuniary aids, who referred them to the Bank of England. Nor was it without reluctance, that the Bank consented, after much deliberation, to advance the loan of two hundred thousand pounds.

All these inconveniencies had originated, as usual, in the flagrant mismanagement of their servants. This the Company determined to correct with all possible expedition and efficiency, by the institution of an extraordinary commission for that purpose. This appointment, similar to the plan of that which had gone out in the Aurora frigate, was confirmed in a general court of Proprietors, and even sanctioned by his Majesty's approbation. The Company, in the mean time, was reduced to the necessity of applying to Parliament for a relief, in some degree adequate to their exigencies. They petitioned for a million and a half, at an interest of four per cent. with the liberty of repaying it by installments of not less than three hundred thousand pounds, and promised that their dividend should not be more than six percent. until the debt was reduced one-half. Much hesitation was shewn, and an interesting discussion took place, when Parliament at last agreed, from considerations of necessary policy and expediency, to grant an immediate supply of one million four hundred thousand pounds. An enquiry into the state of the Company's affairs being appointed and carried

carried on by a committee of the House, it was at the same time formally stated and brought up in a report, that, notwithstanding these difficulties, a commission was actually preparing and formed, on principles of such extravagance, that the legislature would be warranted in preventing its execution.

An idea so just in itself, thus seasonably broached, was eagerly approved and adopted by the House. A bill, framed to give it effect, was therefore immediately brought in and passed, though two members in the direction earnestly pledged themselves, that the commission, which had proved so obnoxious, should not take place until such progress was made in the present enquiry, as might appear to justify the measure. But this security, however respectable in itself, or solemnly pledged to the House, was by no means deemed adequate, as the court of Directors might at any time be controlled by a majority of the proprietary at large.

Early in 1773, it was also resolved, from motives of indisputable prudence, according to some, or more probably to answer the views of ministerial intrigue, as others shrewdly conjectured, to restrain the future dividends of the Company\*. By such obvious encroachments of prerogative, the public were alarmed with the idea that Government intended to seize the Company's property, and dissolve their charter. The minister, however, soon put an end to these apprehensions, at least for the time, by proposing †, that the territorial

\* Debret's Parliamentary Register of March 23, 1773.

† April 5—20.

acquisitions should remain in the possession of the Company six years longer. The public clamoured and the Company inveighed, and even petitioned the House in opposition to these proceedings, but without effect. The subject had occupied Parliament for above two months, and deeply interested the attention of the whole nation. Resolutions to the following effect were at length moved for by the minister \*, and made the foundation of a bill for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East-India Company, both in India and England. That the election of Directors should be put upon a new footing; that the right of voting should be taken from every proprietor not possessed of a thousand pounds stock; that a supreme court of judicature should be instituted for India; that the judges in this establishment should be nominated by the Crown, and that a superiority should be given to the Presidency of Bengal over all the other presidencies in India.

The object of this famous regulating-act, which, after a world of altercation in both Houses of Parliament, obtained the sanction of the Legislature, was a total revolution in the whole system of the Company's government. The Court of Directors was to derive additional force from the annihilation of those factions, with the creation of which that of the proprietary was chargeable. Provision was made for securing an impartial administration

\* Debret's Parliamentary Register, May 3.



of justice among the natives, under the government of the Company's servants in India; and thus a bar of apparent efficacy was raised and established against the tyranny and oppression exercised by British subjects resident in that country, and acting under the delegated authority of their masters. A general superintending council was at the same time constituted, and invested with supreme controuling powers. The obvious view of the legislature in this part of the new system, was to unite and consolidate the strength of the Company, that, on emergencies of common danger, the co-operation of all the settlements might be attended with that uniformity which is necessary to give it effect. So that, in all the Company's connection with foreign states, and those transactions especially which relate to peace and war, she is henceforth to be viewed as wielding the sceptre of one vast and extensive empire, the principal members of which, however remote in point of local situation, are all dependent on the same head.— Nor was it the least interesting feature in the measure, that the servants of the crown were introduced to a share in the management of the Company's affairs, which were now so blended or involved with those of the public, that it was presumed the latter could not be properly and faithfully administered, without a sedulous attention to the former. His Majesty's ministers were therefore made partakers of the Company's patronage, and in some degree responsible for the characters and capacities of the persons employed in that situa-

tion. And it was ordered in the act, that every thing in the Company's correspondence from India, which related to civil or military affairs, should, within fourteen days after the receipt of it in England, be laid before the secretary of state; and matters more immediately connected with the revenue, were directed by the same authority to be inspected by the commissioners of the treasury.

Mr. Hastings was appointed governor-general; General Clavering, Colonel Manfon, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, counsellors. The term of holding these important offices was limited to five years, from their arrival in Bengal, and assuming the government. Nor were they removeable, except by the King, upon a representation from the Directors. The first situation, in case of a vacancy, was to be filled by the next in rank, and the place of counsellor supplied by the Directors, with consent of his Majesty, under his sign manual, during the first five years. The establishment of a board of trade, and the regulation of such particulars as were made the specific objects of that jurisdiction, formed also a material part of this act.— It invested the governor-general, and four counsellors, with the same powers as were then, or had at any time been exercised by the president and council, or select committee in the kingdom of Bengal, Bahar or Orissa. The opinion of the majority was in all cases of difference to decide the question, and where the number present should on any account, or by any accident, be divided, the governor-general, or, in his absence, the senior member,

member, was to have a casting voice. It limited the exercise of their supremacy over the other presidencies, to the prerogative of declaring war, making peace, or negotiating other treaties with Indian princes. It enjoined obedience to the orders of the Directors, and required the regular transmission of advices within a limited time. These the court of Directors was at the same time required to lay before one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state. The governor-general and council, chief-justice or member of the supreme court of judicature, all collectors, supervisors, and any of his Majesty's subjects employed in the collection of the revenues, were prohibited from carrying on any dealings or transactions of traffic or commerce whatever. And a clause against receiving, directly or indirectly, any present, gift, donation, gratuity or reward, pecuniary or otherwise, or any promise or engagement for them, extended to every person holding either civil or military office under the crown or the Company.

Mr. Hastings was then governor, and Mr. Barwell a member of the existing council and presidency of Bengal. The three other gentlemen nominated to complete the board, left England in the month of April, [1774.] Their authority was only to take effect by the first of August, in the same year. Previous to their departure, the court of Directors agreed upon a body of instructions for their servants in their respective situations, which were approved by counsel, as legal, and consistent with the provisions and spirit of the act. These

were addressed in the aggregate to the governor-general and council of Fort-William.

The advice which accompanied this great code of British legislation and jurisprudence to the banks of the Ganges, from the court of Directors to the gentlemen invested with this new delegation, was important and material. It inculcated the most perfect harmony among themselves, as of essential and indispensable necessity to the welfare of the Company, and an honourable discharge of the trust reposed in them. It pressed the propriety and consequence of fixing their attention on the preservation of tranquillity, through the whole Indian empire, the protection of the Company's territories, and the improvement of their revenues. And it directed them in the exercise of their controul over the other presidencies, in questions relating to peace and war, that they should carefully study the interests and probable connections of the country powers with each other, with the Company, and with other European nations; that they should aim at nothing by other means, which could be obtained by negotiation; that the general interest; in all its dependencies, should regulate the measures of their government; but that, on no consideration, should they ever be tempted to lose sight of the safety and prosperity of Bengal. A short history of the supreme government, under the influence of a majority of the council, will abundantly justify the foresight of the court, in suggesting these salutary directions.

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The new administration did not take place until the latter end of October. It was composed of individuals not unqualified for occupying the important spheres to which they were called, with a capacity, an energy, and a dignity equal to the responsibility connected with the duty for which they stood committed. The deep, sagacious, penetrating understanding; the cautious, wary, persevering temper; the daring, original, and enterprising genius which have uniformly distinguished the politics of the governor-general, fashioned him with singular propriety to fill the highest department in a government which entrusted a few foreigners with the lives and properties of millions. To a very high sense of honour, General Clavering added uncommon delicacy in his discernment of men and things. He connected the spirit and liberality of a gentleman with the conscientious discharge of his duty, and an inviolable predilection for the sacred regards of right and wrong. His sensibilities were probably too refined, and his morality too inflexible for the obliquities of Asiatic politics. These qualities, in such a situation, might operate as defects of character. A government, not established in principle, was unlikely to prosper by the virtues of its members. Colonel Manson possessed all the honesty, simplicity, and disinterested complaisance of his profession. He had firmness without obstinacy; and, with an affability singularly amiable and conciliating, a mind open to conviction, a sound understanding, and a warm heart; he maintained his opinions with stea-

diness, and avowed his attachments to the last. Mr. Barwell, from long residence on the spot, great intercourse with the natives, a turn for observation, and an intimate acquaintance with the manners and peculiarities of the country, possessed such a valuable stock of local intelligence, as could not but afford him the readiest and clearest assistance in cases of the greatest intricacy. Mr. Francis has a cool head, and a correct judgment. His opinions are formed with no common share of shrewdness and precision. Endowed with a liberal education, accustomed to exercises which required attention, selection and digestion, and possessing habits of the most indefatigable industry, few men were better fitted for the arrangement, the detail, and the dispatch of business. A ministry combining, exerting, and directing such talents as these to one object, was equal to the management of the greatest empire. They wanted only some grand prevailing interest to engross, cement, and stimulate their respective energies, and it was impossible but the wisdom of their measures, the harmony, the efficacy, and the promptitude of their operations, must ensure them success.

The express orders of the Directors to Mr. Hastings, even while at the head of the former administration, were, that no rank, station, connection, or consideration whatever, should deter him from bringing every oppression to light, and every offender, native and European, to condign punishment. These, however, he conceived to be absolutely impracticable, and embraced the first opportunity of announcing

nouncing that conviction to the Directors, in very decided language. He resolved every species of delinquency into the imbecility of the established system, and asserted the incompetency of their constitution for the management of extensive dominions, under charters originally framed for the jurisdiction of trading settlements. Whether he did not choose to encounter the obloquy which a close retrospection into the conduct of other governments might have occasioned. Whether he suspected or foresaw the opposition naturally to be expected in carrying on such an invidious enquiry might overset his government. Whether the sentiments of private friendship might not operate as insuperable obstacles to the performance of public duty, or whether all these considerations might not have their weight in determining his resolution on so material a part of his office, it would be presumption to affirm. But the conduct of his colleagues in office soon afforded him full and repeated opportunities of exemplifying, in his own defence, the truth of that impracticability, which he had so firmly asserted.

The introduction of a new system was a measure which, in its own nature, implied a complete condemnation of the old. It would at least have ill become the legislature to attempt a reformation where nothing was either useless, defective, or improper. The members sent from home considered themselves as bound by this construction of the act. The spirit and tendency of former institutions had occasioned the powers with which they

were invested. Their official existence, for that reason, stamped an indelible censure on the conduct of their predecessors. The character of Mr. Hastings, by the sanction of the British parliament, appeared on the face of the revolution, an honourable exception to the delinquencies in which it originated. To him was assigned the direction of the new government. He possessed the principal situation in the service of his employers. The legal prerogatives of his station were eminent and extensive. He presided in the council, he corresponded exclusively with the native princes in India. His name gave validity and authenticity to every public deed. These distinctions were by no means calculated to lessen or depreciate his personal merits in the eyes of his colleagues. They went, in fact, to India with the strongest prepossessions in his favour. If their own positive and repeated declarations are entitled to belief, they did not entertain a doubt, but that the high reputation which he bore among his friends at home, was no more than due to his exertions abroad. And notwithstanding the various surmises which they accidentally heard in their way to Bengal, and which threw some degree of shade on the flattering idea which they had previously formed of his politics, his abilities, and his virtues, they were not without hopes that he would answer the purposes of his appointment to their satisfaction, as well as that of the public.

The Governor-general, at the first meeting of the new government, [Oct. 25, 1774] embraced, with great



great propriety, that occasion for explaining, especially to the gentlemen so recently arrived from Europe, the present posture of the Company's affairs, more particularly as connected with the presidency, the dominions, and the dependencies of Bengal. He laid before them the whole complicated and multifarious system of the revenue department. He directed their attention to a brief detail of the various adjustments and operations, by which this intricate and laborious business was managed and executed with effect. He pointed out a great number of new and necessary regulations which, to answer the purposes of accuracy, expedition, and order, the late administration had introduced. He stated, at the same time, in a very specious manner, and with his usual correctness and perspicuity, the most material measures which the council had adopted and recorded, since he had the honour of sitting in the chair. The Company's alliance with the Vizir of Oude, their treatment of the Emperor Shaw Allum, and the active and ostensible part which their troops had taken in reducing the Rohilla tribes, he considered as so many circumstances pregnant with the most substantial advantages to the British interest in that part of the world. Nor did he overlook, in this official narrative or statement, the strength, the views, or the connections of the neighbouring powers. He shewed what we had reason either to hope or fear from the friendship or enmity of the Marratto states. He traced the dissensions of that powerful and warlike people through all their causes, progress, and consequences,

quences, and discriminated the specific aim of that competition which continued, by the domestic animosities and internal convulsions it produced, to restrain the vigour of their government from all exterior exertion or enterprize. He exhibited the dominions of Berar as peculiarly interesting to the Company, from their situation and proximity to those of Bengal. These too were described as involving different interests, from the peculiar connections, politics, and principles of the chiefs who possessed them. The movements of this mighty state, especially as being closely united by blood to that of the Marrattos, he conceived, ought to be narrowly and assiduously watched by the supreme government. And he concluded, with insinuating the most sanguine expectation, that by proper management on the part of the Company, no inconsiderable advantages might accrue to them and to the British nation, from the general result of those arrangements \*, which he had thus summarily detailed.

The

*\* To elucidate this part of the subject, the whole of the Governor-general's minute on that occasion ought to be inserted. I have omitted the references to original documents in the various offices, as the former can be of no use except to such as have access to the latter.*

“ All the Members of this Council being now assembled, I could wish to point out some general plan for carrying into execution the regulations of the new system of government, agreeably to the instructions received from the Company; but upon an attentive review of the various subjects which occur, I find it necessary to select such particular parts of them as seem to claim your earliest notice; reserving the rest for future consideration, to be taken up  
in

The gentlemen from England were struck with peculiar astonishment and concern by some parts of

in the order in which their respective importance or particular exigences may point out. I shall take the liberty to accompany every proposition with a brief relation of such circumstances, and such past transactions, as have any relation to it, and are necessary to be known, for the purpose of forming your resolutions upon it. I mean not, gentlemen, to preclude any other Member of the Council from offering any point for present deliberation, which, in his judgment, may claim a preference in point of time, above those which I may wish to introduce. I only propose this method as the most likely to facilitate the dispatch of business, which may be retarded by undertaking too many subjects at the same instant. It will unavoidably take some time to arrange and perfect the new system of this administration; in the mean while, the current affairs will require your daily assistance to keep them in motion; and in both, I mean both in forming the new mode of government, and conducting the daily business, you will find it necessary to consult the records of the former administration, for the sake of due connection and consistency. I desire also to shorten the time, and lessen the trouble of such a search among the voluminous books of consultations, by the mode proposed, of laying before you a succinct view of each subject, with references to the consultations for the successive orders which have been issued, and the advices which have been received concerning them. I think it my duty to add, and I think I may do it, without presuming too much upon the experience which I have acquired in the affairs of this government, that I shall be at all times happy to assist any Member of the Council with my communications upon any point upon which he may desire to be so informed.

“Professions of zeal, and solicitude for the public good, are too commonly made use of to be received with implicit credit; but I feel my own honour, and my own interest, so intimately blended with the successful issue of the measures of this government, that I may with truth, and without hazard of having my declaration suspected, affirm, that I have not a wish, even for myself, which has not the good

of this intelligence. The suspicions which the rumours they had heard in their way to India, and which

good of the Company for its immediate object, and my own ultimately, as derived from it. I believe I may safely conclude the same for the other gentlemen embarked with me in this great undertaking; and I have the most thorough confidence in your disposition to unite with me in the prosecution of the Company's interests, while I, with the strictest sincerity and cordiality declare, that nothing on any part shall be wanting to render that union effectual.

"The points which I shall beg leave to submit to your consideration are, first, the mode of conducting the business of the revenue; and next, the political system of these provinces.

"The general mode which is at this time established for the management of the collections, is as follows: The provinces are formed into six divisions; each comprehending several inferior districts, under the direction of a Chief and Council; these receive their orders from the Board at large, and report to them their proceedings in a separate department, called a Council of Revenue; and for the greater facility of dispatching business with the inhabitants, and for the preservation of the ancient forms and rules of office, a Dewan or minister of the revenue is appointed to each division, who is joined to the Provincial Council, and keeps all the accounts and records of the country languages. Native superintendants are also appointed to each district of the provincial divisions, with the title of Naibs, and correspond with the Provincial Councils and Dewans. The Dewans also transmit their accounts and proceedings to an office of ancient institution, lately transferred from the city of Moorshedabad to Calcutta, named the Khalsa, which is under the charge of an officer entitled the Roy Royan, who occasionally sits at the meeting of the Councils of Revenue, and is the channel of communication between the Board and the Dewans, transmitting to the latter the counterparts of the orders of the Board, which are sent to the Provincial Councils, and receive their answers. The exceptions to this general system are, the province of Chittagong, which, from its remote situation and small revenue, has been left under the single charge of the chief of the factory; and

which a variety of circumstances inspired, on their arrival were confirmed. The great principle of govern-

and the districts of Pallamow and Ramgur, under Captain Carnac; and of the Jungulterry of Curruckpoor, &c. under Captain Browne. These may be properly termed military collectorships. They are composed of the wild mountainous part of the country, which have been lately reduced to a state of submission to government, and require the continual presence of a military force to keep them in subjection. The revenue which they yield is inconsiderable; but the possession of them is a security to the peace of the cultivated and more civilized lands in their neighbourhood, which, till their reduction, were continually exposed to the ravages of wild and lawless people inhabiting them. With these military collectors, the correspondence was carried on by the Governor only; but according to the instructions now received from the Company, it seems requisite that it should in future be conducted by the Council at large.

“ I must beg leave to conclude this subject with earnestly offering my advice for the continuation of this system in all its parts, with such alterations only as the late change in the government has rendered indispensably necessary. Innovations are always attended with difficulties and inconveniences; innovations in the revenue, with a suspension of the collections, and a change at this season of the year, would be particularly dangerous, as the time of the heaviest payments is now approaching. For the same reason, your speedy determination upon the future mode of managing and collecting the revenues would prove of essential service.

“ The Court of Directors have been advised of the formation of this establishment, in consequence of the orders transmitted to us in their letter of the 7th of April, 1773; and we may shortly hope to be furnished with their final determination concerning it. I must likewise recommend the continuance of the separation which was originally made, of the revenue department from the other offices of the government, as the only means by which it can be regularly conducted; and as there is no branch of the Company's affairs on which their interests so essentially depend,

I pro-

government, to the operations of which report had attributed the most salutary and substantial amendments

I propose that the Council do assemble for the conduct of it, in the same manner as was practised by the late Council of Revenue.

“ It will be necessary to form other subsidiary regulations for separating the revenue from the commercial department, and preventing competitions between them, and to determine what servants shall be employed in the revenue branch; that the board of trade may be enabled to make choice, from amongst the rest, of such as will be required for conducting the commercial business.

“ The next point which I have proposed for your consideration, is, the political system of these provinces.

“ The alliance with the Nabob Sujah Dowlah, the Vizir of the empire, is the only foreign connection in which the government can with propriety be said to be engaged. This took place originally by the treaty formed by Lord Clive at Illahabad, in the year 1765.

“ By a new treaty with the Vizir, dated Sept. 8, 1773, in consequence of an interview I had with him at Benares, the monthly subsidy for the extraordinary expence of our forces employed in his assistance, was fixed at the sum of 210,000 rupees for one brigade; and the provinces of Cora and Illahabad ceded to him for the sum of fifty lacks of rupees, of which twenty lacks were to be immediately due, and were accordingly paid; fifteen lacks were to be paid at the expiration of a year, and the remaining fifteen at the expiration of two years.

“ At the same time, the Vizir had solicited the aid of our troops to reduce the Rohilla country, lying on the north of his dominions, between the Ganges and the mountains of Tibet. The immediate plea for these hostilities, was, the breach of faith with which the Rohilla chiefs were charged in the supplies of money afforded by them to the Marrattos, against whom they had solicited and obtained the Vizir's assistance, under a solemn engagement to pay him forty lacks of rupees on the departure of the Marrattos, and for refusing afterwards to fulfil that engagement.

“ This

ments or reform, in every part of the whole official arrangement, was materially different from what they

“ This enterprize, the design of which furnished the first occasion of my meeting with the Vizir, formed an article in the original draught of our treaty; but it was afterwards omitted at his desire; and I promised that it should still take place, if it suited the affairs of the Company, at any other time when he should find himself in a condition to resume it. Accordingly, in the month of January, 1774, the Vizir made a formal requisition of the assistance of a brigade of the Company's forces, for the defence of his dominions, and for the prosecution of his former purpose of invading the country of the Rohillas. For this service he engaged to pay the Company, besides the stipulated monthly subsidy, forty lacks of rupees when it should be concluded.

“ The Vizir's request was granted; the second brigade was ordered on this service, and Colonel Champion, the provisional Commander in Chief, appointed to the command. Having been joined by the Vizir and his troops, he entered the Rohilla borders on 17th April, and on the 23d of the same month, attacked and defeated the army of the Rohillas, commanded by Hafez Rahmet, their leader, who was killed in the action. This victory was decisive; no other enemy appeared in the field; and the Vizir having obtained possession of the greatest part of the country, both armies marched on the 7th of May to the city of Bissfooly, where quarters were prepared for them, and it was intended they should pass the rains there; but the remaining leaders of the Rohillas having assembled forces, under the command of Fyzoola Cawn, at Nejeebgur, a town on the northern frontier of the country, the Vizir, apprehending their acquiring too great strength, and that the Marrattos might return to interrupt the operations before they were brought to a conclusion, prevailed upon Colonel Champion to put the brigade again in motion, about the latter end of July, and to march with him against the enemy, although the rains were then at their height. The troops enjoyed remarkable good health, and proceeded without opposition to Pottergur, the enemy flying before them to the skirts of the hills, whither the combined armies have

they expected. They saw the powers of the Company wantonly exerted to give sanction and success

to

have followed them. They have lain for a considerable time within a short distance of each other; Colonel Champion waiting for orders from the Select Committee, to pursue the enemy beyond the line to which he conceived himself limited by his instructions. The necessary orders were sent, and we have been for some time past in daily expectations of hearing that the war was brought to a conclusion, either by the attack and defeat of the enemy, or by negotiation. The last letters from Colonel Champion, which you, Gentlemen, have read, were dated the 2d instant, and advise, that Fyzoolla Cawn had delivered himself up, but that the negotiation was still continued.

“ The advantages proposed from this expedition were; 1st, an addition of territory, and, of course, of wealth to the Vizir, in which the Company will always participate. 2d. The completion of the defensive line of his dominions, by freeing them from an inconvenient neighbour; and by taking into them the whole space included between the Ganges and the northern mountains. 3d. The employment of a third part of our force, and a saving at the same time of its expences. And lastly, the stipulation of forty lacks, to be paid on the conclusion of the undertaking. The retreat of the Marrattos to their ancient territories, and the violent dissensions which had arisen in their state, were arguments strongly favouring the time which was chosen for beginning the war; and the justice of it is supported by the undoubted refusal of Hafez Rahmet to fulfil the conditions of his treaty with the Vizir, of which the original, witnessed by General Sir Robert Barker, is in our possession.

“ Many detached events, such as the claim of the army to a share in the plunder of the conquered country, the donation offered to them by the Vizir, a claim of the King Shah Allum to a share of the conquered districts, will appear in the course of the correspondence between the Select Committee and Colonel Champion, and do not require further notice in this place.

“ The second payment of the treaty money for Corra and Illahabad still remained undischarged by the last advices; but



to oppression and outrage, to prosecute and realize the wildest projects of ambition, at the expence of what-

but orders had issued for effecting it, and an English gentleman had been appointed by the Vizir to receive and take charge of it at Fyzabad, his capital.

“The monthly subsidy has been paid with sufficient exactness; at least we have had no information to the contrary. The forty lacks of rupees, stipulated for the performance of the present service, I consider as now due; though the Vizir makes some objections; but the defeat of Fyzoolla Cawn's troops, or the conclusion of the negotiation with him, has, probably by this time, put the Company's right beyond dispute. There remains also a small balance of former accounts still unadjusted; these will constitute the principal part, if not the whole of our concerns with the Vizir; when the business on which we have been to this time engaged with him is concluded, I apprehend no difficulty in procuring payment.

“The bounds which I had prescribed to myself in this paper, and which I have already exceeded, will not admit of my entering into a discussion of the benefits depending on the alliance of the Company with the Vizir; these will appear at large on various parts of our records, to which I shall hereafter distinctly refer. They may be reduced to the following abridgment; a secure barrier; a constant occupation for part of our army; a reduction of our military expences; and an accumulating fund of future wealth. He cannot long subsist without our protection, and is incapable, of himself, of becoming an object of our jealousy or apprehension. For the better communication with the Vizir, and for the maintenance of that confidence which is necessary to perpetuate the alliance between the Vizir and the Company, it has been judged adviseable to appoint a resident at the Durbar, as the immediate agent of the Governor, with whom alone he officially corresponds. The gentleman employed in that station is Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, with whose discretion, integrity and ability for the discharge of this trust, I have every reason to be abundantly satisfied.

“The King remains at Delhi, the ancient capital of the empire, a mere cypher in the administration of it,

whatever is most sacred to justice and humanity, to establish the claims, and extend the usurpation of the

With him our connection has been a long time suspended, and I wish never to see it renewed, as it has proved a fatal drain to the wealth of Bengal, and the treasury of the Company, without yielding one advantage or possible source, even of remote benefits, in return. The tribute which he claims from the provinces hath been withheld from him since his desertion of the Company, and his union with their natural enemies, the Marrattos; and a reference has been made to the Court of Directors for their orders concerning the future payments of it, with every argument urged that can induce them to forbid it.

“The Marratta state, after having threatened the whole empire with subjection, during the active administration of their Paishwa, or acting Chief, Mahderow, has been for this twelve-month past, the scene of internal distractions, which still subsists. On the death of Mahderow, his brother, Narain Row, succeeded him. He was treacherously slain, and his uncle, Raganot Row, released from prison, and declared Paishwa in his stead. The ministers of the government, to whom he owed his elevation, became the objects of his jealousy, and acting from that impression, he made them his enemies; they formed a powerful combination against him, set up the new-born son of Narain Row in competition against him, and defeated him. He has since thrown himself on the protection of Takojee Hulkar, and Mahadajee Sindea, two Chiefs of consideration, who were lately in the party of his opponents. The leaders of this opposition, Sookoram Bolboo, the principal minister; Gaujaboy, the mother of the Paishwa, Mahderow and Narain Row; Shubajee Bonsela, the Chief of Berar; and the Nabob Nizam Alli. The two last may be rather considered as auxiliaries; Mordajee, the brother of Shubajee, was on the side of Raganot Row till his defeat; both the brothers are now in Berar. The last letter from Mr. Moflyn, the Resident at Poonah, dated the 22d of August, explains the state of these disputes to that period; they seem yet likely to be of longer duration, and whenever concluded, will probably leave the prevailing party too weak to undertake any plan of remote conquest,

the strong, over the natural and hereditary rights of the weak and defenceless. The principles, the operations,

conquest, for some time at least to come; of course we have no cause to apprehend any disturbances from the Marrattos, during the present season.

“ The province of Berar, adjoining to our own borders on the south and west side of the provinces, merits, from that consideration, and from the power and independency of its rulers, a distinct consideration. The present Chief, Shabujee Bonsela, is the brother of the late Janojee Bonsela, who for many years past enjoyed the sovereignty of the country. His brothers are Moodajee, who has been already mentioned in this narrative, and Bimbajee; the latter possesses very little consequence besides that which he derives from the credit of his family. The two other brothers have been long at variance, but by the mediation and authority of Derriaboy, the widow of Janojee, and a woman of great spirit and reputed ability, prevented from carrying their animosity to violent extremes. Their being engaged in opposite factions of the Marratto state, is not a certain proof of their mutual enmity; it being (as I understand) a policy not uncommonly practised among the Marrattos, for the same family to take different sides in civil dissensions, with a view to its aggrandizement. While I was at Benares the last year, a Vakeel from Shawbajee Bonsela arrived at that place with a letter addressed to me by that Chief, and attended me in Calcutta until the month of September last, when he received his dismissal to return to his master, in consequence of orders received for that purpose. The purport of Shawbajee's letter, and the verbal propositions made to me by his Vakeel, was to solicit the friendship and alliance of this government; to which I have replied in such terms as were most likely to encourage him to nearer advances, if he has formed any designs which may make it strongly his interest to court the friendship of the Company. He is descended from the ancient Rajahs of Sittarah. The present Rajah is called Ram Rajah; he has no children. It is worthy of remark, and may serve to convey some idea of the instability of the present government of the Marrattos, that it is exercised through two subordinate gradations. The Rajah, in whose

operations, and the tendencies of government, appeared to them totally mistaken or misapplied. Instead of the pacific system the Governor-general had so loudly professed and avowed, the army was at that moment employed in the extirpation of the Rohillas, with whom he had lately been allied, against whom he pretended to have no repentment, but for the massacre of whom a sum of money was stipulated. General Clavering, Colonel Manson, and Mr. Francis, boldly arraigned the origin, the conduct, the object of this merciless expedition. They imputed it to a collusion between the Vizir and the Governor-general. It was unaccountable to them on any other principles than the feeblest ambition in the one, and the foulest corruption in the other. In these they unanimously resolved all that petulant caprice which distinguished the temper of Sujah Dowlah in directing the campaign, and that very exquisite tenderness with which the Governor-general espoused his vindication against the representations of the commander in chief. It struck them as an insult to the repeated orders of the Company, which constantly enjoined and urged the obvious

name all the orders of the state are issued, is deprived of all authority. The Paishwa, or prime Minister, an infant of nine months old, and the actual Minister or Regent, who exercises the legal powers of both; a man deriving his authority solely from the combination of a few wealthy individuals. From this divided state of the Marratto empire, and the interests and pretensions of the several competitors for power amongst them, great political advantages may perhaps be attained to the Company, to which the present united system of the Company's establishments in India, is well calculated to contribute.

policy

policy of cultivating harmony with all the neighbouring states. It strengthened and extended that power which it was their interest to preserve, in a situation of dependence. It was an encroachment on those neutral rights which the Marrattos might think themselves obliged to defend. It exposed the dominions of the Company to depredation, and taxed their engagements with infidelity and deceit; degraded the dignity of government, by yielding to the arrogance of a barbarian; risked the liberty of a brigade, by resting their departure on his option; insulted the feelings of the troops; by forcing them on a service of cruelty, and implicating their operations with a variety of such horrid scenes as reflect the foulest disgrace on the arms of an enlightened nation. They founded their reasoning on the manner in which the war was brought on; the management which marked so strongly its commencement and progress; the rapacity, perfidy, and inhumanity of the Vizier's character; the avowed object of the enterprize; and the dreadful carnage, depopulation, and general ruin in which it terminated.

To allegations illiberal or gross, the Governor general deigned no reply. He wished to distinguish between animated declamation and dispassionate enquiry. Many facts on which the majority argued were at least equivocal. He denied the mystery attributed to his personal conference with the Vizier; that his conduct warranted the imputations with which it had been blackened; that the Rohilcund was desolated; or that the prisoners taken in war had been inhumanly used. These

were not the representations of truth, but the exaggerations of fancy. The measure was suggested by the exigencies of government. The Company's distresses were increased beyond a probability of relief; from the ordinary resources of the country; and in the failure of these, extraordinary means became indispensable. The orders of the Company were in no instance an explicit prohibition of employing their forces on services of such manifest utility. They were dictated in a more liberal spirit, and permitted, in circumstances not reducible to positive and invariable direction, a discretionary latitude for the zeal of their servants. The Rohillas were a treacherous race. Their catastrophe was the just reward of their own demerits. The war was founded in the natural desire of retaliating wrongs. Our troops were not principals, but accessories only. It was our duty, as well as interest, to assist in accomplishing whatever augmented the security of an ally, whose enemies were ours. The Rohillas were his aggressors, and their reduction was, of course, included in our engagements to defend him. He enumerated the advantages which would redound to the Company from this disposition of their forces. It raised a new barrier to their dominions, by extending the frontiers of Oude, and removing the Marrattos to a greater distance. It brought nearly half a million sterling to their treasury. It disciplined their army, and relieved them from one-third of its expence. In short, he scrupled not, in the face of all the opposition that was urged, to rest his apology on his reputation in the service, his construction

tion of the Company's orders, the necessity of the state, and the practicability of the object.

The majority, far from acquiescing in these reasons, came to the resolution, that the correspondence of the Governor-general, with the commander in chief, and the resident at the Vizir's court, should be laid before the board. He dissented from this resolution, as equally illiberal and premature. It divested his declaration of credit, and the situation he occupied of that confidence which its utility required. Mr. Middleton was his agent, Many of his letters were confined to confidential communications, in which the public had no concern. These were made and trusted under the seal of secrecy. He would not betray the unreserved opinions of a young man, which could produce no other consequence than ill-will or inconvenience to the author. They were hazarded only on the most sacred assurance, that they never should be divulged from the person to whom, alone he conceived himself accountable for the part he acted in that station. Without waiting for the papers he promised to produce, or knowing whether the intelligence they conveyed was imperfect or obscure, an arbitrary demand was made for the minutiae of a correspondence with which his personal feelings did not permit him to comply. To laying before the board Colonel Champion's official dispatches, he had no objections. Such parts of their correspondence, however, as were not altogether cordial, written with the freedom of private friends, and in a stile different from that used in transacting

public business, he deemed it equally unnecessary and improper to produce.

This dissent was protested against by the majority, who finding, in consequence of the Company's engagement with Sujah Dowlah, that an enterprise had been undertaken in direct violation of that policy which they knew to be established by the highest authority, that this was not the result of any specific treaty, but of a verbal agreement only between the Vizir and the President, and that the execution of it had carried our troops to such a distance from the frontiers of Bengal, and so considerably to the north of Delhi, that the place of their encampment, in the beginning of October, was not to be found in any common map of the country, they were warranted to demand the full possession of every document which had any reference to that transaction. The connection of the late administration with the Company's ally, notwithstanding all the lights they had received, was still to them in a great measure unintelligible. All communications made by the resident at the Durbar, and the commander of the troops still in the field, to the Governor, on the subject under consideration, were, in their opinion, essential to a complete information of the board. They grounded their requisition on the express orders of the Company. The Directors, in their general letter of the 23d March, 1770, write thus:—"The Governor, singly, shall correspond with the country powers; but all letters, before they shall be by him sent, must be communicated to the other  
" mem-



“ members of the select committee, and receive  
“ their approbation; and also all letters whatever,  
“ which may be received in answer to, or in the  
“ course of his correspondence, shall likewise be  
“ laid before the said select committee, for their  
“ information and consideration.” They denied  
that the chief of any council had a right to carry  
on a correspondence with the ministers or officers  
of government, independent of that council, much  
less to refuse a communication of that correspon-  
dence, when requested by them.

The recal of Mr. Middleton from the Durbar  
was the consequence of these debates. Colonel  
Champion was at the same time, though not with-  
out considerable discussion, instructed to supply his  
place, to wait upon the Vizir, and to require pay-  
ment of his arrears to the Company, in virtue of  
the assistance afforded him against the Rohillas,  
and his other engagements. He was allowed a dis-  
cretionary power to relax in part of these de-  
mands, in case it might appear to him expedient,  
and to accept twenty lacks, after securing install-  
ments for the remainder, at any term, not exceed-  
ing twelve months for the last. His removal of  
the troops was to be regulated by the alternative  
of the Vizir's compliance or refusal. Meanwhile,  
advices were received, that the war, as we have  
before related, was finished, and, in consequence  
of these, some alterations took place in the Colo-  
nel's instructions.

In the course of these reiterated altercations,  
references were frequently and freely made to the  
Govern-

Governor-general's treatment of the King Shaw Allum. His detention of the tribute, as well as his disposition of Corah and Allahabad, was oftener than once obliquely imputed to principles which he had not avowed. For the non-payment of the subsidy he accounts, by alledging what advantage he might have derived from a collusive acknowledgement of the treaty. The King, he shrewdly presumes, would have allowed him to make his own terms, and thanked him for the remainder\*. It was certainly in his power, upon the supposition of his majesty's meanness to have thus preferred his own interest to that of his constituents. But to warrant oppression by impotence, or to argue in favour of one species or degree of injustice, from the capacity of perpetrating another or greater, is reducing all claims of right to explicit principles of tyranny, and appealing directly from every mode of equity to the decision of force. A jury of Englishmen would hardly acquit the man convicted of robbery, for resting his defence on his innocence of murder. On the same grounds, however, the Governor boldly justifies his pecuniary bargain

\* The Governor-general, in his address to the Court of Directors, by the ship Anson, dated March 25, 1775, avows this curious reasoning in these terms: "The stoppage of the King's tribute was an act of mine, and I have been often reproached with it. It was certainly in my power to have continued the payment of it, and to have made my terms with the King, for any part of it which I might have chosen to reserve for my own use; he would have thanked me for the remainder."

with

with Sujah Dowlah, for the territories of the prince whose tribute he had already alienated. "It was not, says he, the want of the sunnuds of Shaw Allum, which defeated the long concerted projects of the Duc de Choiseul; nor will the possession of them quicken the designs of the Marattos against us. The sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal, must be the instrument of its preservation; and if it shall ever cease to be ours, which God forbid, the next proprietor will derive his right and possession from the same natural charter."

The military were chiefly employed, in 1774, against various petty principalities, situated on the frontiers of the Bengal provinces, and who had hitherto acknowledged no dependence on any of the neighbouring sovereignties. In some places the Rajahs or great men were reduced and gave hostages as pledges of their future obedience; in others the peasants were every where driven from their houses, the villages consumed, and the crops utterly destroyed. Orders being issued from the council of Patna for a battalion of the Company's to seize or expel the Rajah Tutta Shaw, Ensign Scott, who commanded the party, rigidly accurate and assiduous in the discharge of his duty, pursued the unhappy man into the dominions of Oude, and made three of the Vizir's subjects prisoners of war. Captain Crawford, under a similar direction from the chief of Burdwan, entered Patcoom the beginning of December the same year, with six companies of sipoys, took the capital, levelled it with the

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the ground, and to make the post tenable, cleared the country. The natives, in a paroxysm of despair, assembled to defend themselves and families. He came up with them in a few days. They were easily and effectually dispersed. The whole that survived, man, woman, and child, took immediate shelter among the hills, and left the district without an inhabitant. This active officer coolly avows, in his dispatches, that he endeavoured to sow dissension among the chiefs, in order to facilitate the business of reduction or extirpation. These excesses originated in an ambition to subjugate a brave and warlike race of people, who, from time immemorial, had maintained their liberty in these mountainous and woody countries, which form so great a part of the western division of Bengal. They had no other mode of retaliating the injuries they received, than by sudden excursions against those neighbouring districts which lay most contiguous, and were most defenceless. They were consequently proscribed as a licentious banditti, and proceeded against by every means which the laws of war would allow. And in the true spirit of the Bengal government, in case no other method would bring them to terms, extirpation was deemed a measure perfectly consistent with *justice and sound policy*. The principles which have been imbibed and practised by all the tyrants and usurpers, whose villainies have desolated and embroiled the world, as *justice and sound policy*, have been slavery, expulsion, slaughter, or extermination. On these defpotism, in every corner of the globe, still raises her  
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establishments, and ambition her trophies. It ever has been the rage of the multitude to be led, which is the fertile origin of all that power by which in all ages they have gained so little and suffered so much.

In the beginning of the year 1775, Sujah ul Dowlah, Vizir of Oude, whose health had for some time been on the decline, breathed his last. His son Miza Ammany, otherwise called Asoph ul Dowlah, succeeded him in the subadary. He did not possess the talents of his father, whose strength both of body and mind, was hardly equalled among his countrymen. This powerful ally of the Company had all at once been converted from a man of pleasure to no inconsiderable adept both in business and war. His fortunes were long, various, and equivocal. He soon hit upon the policy of attaching himself to the English. Their enterprize and activity suited the volatility of his taste and his genius. His exterior and address were plausible, specious, and insinuating; but the prevailing habits of his mind were bloody, treacherous, dastardly, and vindictive. And the several treaties between him and the Company's servants, are a proof that however inferior to them in the field, he had greatly the advantage in almost every negotiation. Several alterations took place in the Company's connection with the young Nabob. The supreme council determined that the specific conditions of their former alliance with the Vizir expired with him, and that it was their duty to derive as much advantage as possible from a renewal of their friendship to his son. Mr. Bristow, who had  
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succeeded Mr. Middleton in the residency of Fyzabad, set out in the beginning of February, 1775, and in a few months agreed with the Nabob to guarantee to him the provinces of Corah and Allahabad; that the stipulated subsidy for the service of the brigade should be increased; and that the Company should be invested with the sovereignty and possession of the districts under Cheit Sing in perpetuity. The majority assumed great merit from the very substantial benefits which it conferred on the Company. Nor would it have tarnished the lustre of their reign, had this been the only instance in which even they could sacrifice the claims of essential justice to the rapacity of their constituents. The Governor-general's only objection was, that he thought it never could be thoroughly realized. It was fully debated at the board, but ultimately carried.

These dissensions, which had separately transpired before the arrival of any regular dispatches in England, very much inflamed the friends and abettors of the several individuals interested in the issue of the contest. The Directors alarmed for the consequences of such violent proceedings, laid the whole subjects in reference forthwith before the proprietary. Various courts were held, and much subtilty and manœuvring displayed on both sides. The object was no longer the good of the Company or community at large, but which of the parties should prove victorious. The sense of the whole may be collected from the Directors general letter, dated the 15th of December, in which they condemn

denn the principles of the Rohilla war, and justify the recal of Mr. Middleton, as dissatisfied with the policy in the one case, and in the other, giving it as their opinion that the board were fully entitled to a deliberate perusal of all the resident's letters.

The discord which prevailed in the supreme council was soon communicated to the natives. It was a species of intelligence which facilitated its own propagation, by the eager curiosity which it every where excited. The houses of the individuals who composed the majority, were suddenly surrounded with complainants, who importuned them, by an incessant repetition of their grievances, for redress. Instances of oppression in the former administration were every day exhibited, and even among that timid and diffident people, there were not wanting who had the resolution to bring personal accusations against some of the first officers of state. The black merchants in Dacca charged Mr. Richard Barwell with a series of barbarities which even shock humanity in the recital. They assert, that he extorted a considerable sum from them by menaces, by confining them in the stocks, by imprisonment, and by starving them under a military guard, into his own terms. The ignominious punishment of the stocks was inflicted on them when the weather was exceedingly bad, and the rains insufferably heavy, and in a plain where, having no covering to their heads, or any part of their body, and nothing underneath them but the bare earth, they were equally exposed to the inclemency of the sky, and the dampness of a spot  
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swimming in water. To heighten the cruelty of their situation, they were not unfrequently treated in this manner in the middle of the day, when the scorching heat of a vertical sun is most intolerable. The objects of his implacable severity were not young, nor accustomed to such hardships as are incident to a low or laborious life, but men of a reputable profession, men aged and infirm, and men who had served the Company, without censure or complaint, for thirty years.

The retrospection of the majority was carried with accuracy and perseverance into every department of state, and extended to all the various objects and functions of administration. It was none of the least accusations against Mr. Hastings, that he had annihilated the landed property throughout the kingdom of Bengal. The ancient Zemindars, who had enjoyed their estates without molestation, by inheritance from father to son, for many generations, were disinherited. Their possessions had been literally exposed to sale, and consigned to those who offered the highest terms. This system was condemned, as peculiarly hard and oppressive. The greatest men in the country were consequently under the hard necessity of contending for their lands, against a combination of usurers and peculators, or in lieu of their extensive dominions, to content themselves with their house, and such a pension as the state thought proper to assign. No measure could more effectually alienate the minds of the natives, or destroy their confidence in government. The landed proprietary were at one stroke



stroke deprived of all influence. Their power and their zemindaries were lost together. The menial servants of the English, *whose fathers they would not have set with the dogs of their flock*, as an indignant Chief expresses it, entered into their patrimonial lands. Cantoo-Baboo, the banian or native steward and manager to Mr. Hastings, held two contracts in his own name, and that of his son, for considerably more than an hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. With the same suspicious appearance, the same favourite of power occupied farms which paid annually to the landed revenue nearly an equal sum. The whole zemindary of Baharbund was granted to the son of this man, a boy not more than ten or twelve years of age, though mentioned by the Governor-general as a man of credit and property. ✓ Indeed the majority avowed it, as their solemn and formal opinion, that there was no species of speculation from which the late administration had thought proper to abstain. They even thought the proofs of the Governor-general's appropriating four parts in seven of the salary with which the Company was charged for the Phoufdar or Commander of Hughly, were such as, whether sufficient to convict him in a court of justice, did not leave a doubt concerning his criminality in the mind of any unprejudiced person. The salary was seventy-two thousand rupees, and they asserted that Mr. Hastings shared one half, and that the late Phoufdar was turned out of office merely because his terms were not so favourable.

In this manner the Governor-general, notwithstanding that integrity of intention, and purity of character, to which he has always been so much in the habit of appealing, was formally accused of the grossest venality and corruption. Instances were produced, in which individuals of considerable station and respectability, came forward in support of the charge. The Ranny of Burdwan impeached her duan, or treasurer, with lavishing immense sums on some of the Company's servants, in consideration of his appointment to that high and lucrative situation. When this affair came before the Board, and a motion was made for going into a serious discussion of the fact, the Governor-general, instead of daring his accusers to the proof, or confiding in that innocence which he loudly asserted, availed himself of his privilege, and would not submit to be confronted in a court where he was himself the president; but retired in disgust, with his friend Mr. Barwell. The majority, however, who thought it their duty, were willing to come at the truth; and the Ranny's agent produced accounts of fifteen thousand rupees given to Mr. Hastings, and nine thousand to other Members of the Presidency. Bridjoo Kishore, who had purchased his preferment by these pecuniary presents, objected to the authenticity of the documents thus exhibited in proof of the speculation; but his secretary swore positively that the statement, correctly as it stood, was made according to the treasurer's express order, and that he had represented the transaction precisely and literally as it happened.

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The unfortunate Nuncomar, whose melancholy exit can never be forgotten by his countrymen, had the temerity to produce some heavy charges of this kind against Mr. Hastings, and even to appear in person, for the purpose of substantiating his allegations. When the Rajah, however, pressed to be heard, and to establish the facts he had stated, by incontestable evidence, the Governor-general, who deemed the dignity of his situation paramount to every consideration on earth, suddenly dissolved the Council, and leaving it, in concert with Mr. Barwell, protested against whatever measures the majority should adopt in his absence. But they persisted, notwithstanding this hardness and pertinacity in the exercise of a prerogative still undecided, to discharge those obligations to the public and to justice, which they considered, with equal steadiness, as indispensable. Nuncomar was accordingly called in, and very closely interrogated. He stated with accuracy, firmness, and simplicity, the several sums which he had himself paid the Governor-general, and mentioned the names of such individuals as had been privy to the transaction. He delivered, at the same time, a letter addressed to himself, under the seal and signature of Munny Begum, in which she declared that the Governor-general had also received from her a pecuniary douceur of considerable value. The vouchers he produced in confirmation of these extraordinary negotiations, appeared to the Members of Council perfectly authentic and satisfactory.

Nuncomar was in the mean time an object of machinations little suspected either by him or his friends. It seems to have been determined, that his zeal in prosecuting Mr. Hastings should, in one shape or other, be amply and speedily retaliated. While this matter pended before the Council Board, the Rajah was actually tried for a conspiracy against Mr. Hastings, in concert with Joseph Fowke, Francis Fowke, and Roy Rada Churn \*. The jury,

\* Many are the instances which might be specified to prove how cruelly the exquisite sensibility of the native Indians are sported with by our countrymen. The tragical story of Commaul O Deen will never be forgotten in India, and the dishonour it reflects on our politics, will last as long as it is remembered. This man, by the intrigues of party, while the altercation between a majority of the Council and the Governor-general was carried on with very little temper or decency on either side, was inveigled to give evidence against Joseph Fowke, Francis Fowke, Maha Rajah Nuncomar, and Roy Rada Churn, on a charge of conspiracy against Warren Hastings, Esq. His evidence was so confused and contradictory, that the verdict was given in favour of the defendants. Commaul O Deen being deep in arrears to government, these persons had interest enough, as it would seem, to instigate the officers in the revenue department against him. He was consequently imprisoned; but the Supreme Court espousing his cause, he was immediately released by Habeas Corpus. The very next day he was again imprisoned, and again released in the same manner. He then sent to Hughly for his son, to superintend his affairs, during transactions which so unavoidably engrossed and distracted his attention. In coming up the river to Calcutta, the youth was unfortunately drowned. This unexpected disaster, co-operating with his other embarrassments and sufferings, suddenly overwhelmed him with despair. He then became an object of pity and commiseration to all his friends and former acquaintance. And it was not long before he absconded, and has never been heard of since.

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However, pronounced him not guilty ; but an accusation, more serious and interesting, was prepared and kept in reserve against the unhappy Chief. He was soon after charged with having effected a forgery, dated several years before. For this crime he was capitally indicted, tried before the Supreme Court, condemned by an *ex post facto* statute, and hanged, though the offence of which he was arraigned was not capital, by the laws of the country in which it was committed. The multitudes of people who witnessed the execution were prodigious, and they viewed the spectacle before them with visible expressions of horror and consternation. Europeans had not heretofore menaced the inhabitants with such an awful sight, in the pacific provinces of Bengal. The privileges of Bramins are deemed, in every part of India, inviolable. They commute capital punishment, and are exempted, by what may be called the common law of the country, from every species of personal outrage. Nuncomar was at the head of this sacred cast, whom the Hindoos regard every where with an idolatrous veneration. His ignominious death was consequently much more shocking in India, than if a nobleman of the highest distinction, a prince of the blood, or even a crowned head, were in any European state sentenced to suffer by the hands of the common hangman. All the natives present, amounting to many thousands, dispersed as by common signal, the moment he was turned off, with unusual precipitation, countenances distorted by despair, and their mouths filled with exclamations

clamations of the most extreme agony and horror! They departed so instantly and entirely from this fatal spot, that the Rajah had not yet expired when no body was seen about the gallows, but the sheriff and his attendants, and a few European spectators!

Circumstances were implicated in this transaction, which roused and interested the feelings and attention of all considerate persons in both countries. A man of illustrious rank and distinction, suffering death for a crime not capital by the laws under which he lived; and punished in this manner, only in consequence of a foreign and posterior institution; the commencement of the prosecution at the critical moment when Nuncomar stood forward to convict the Governor-general of the most abandoned prostitution of the authority under which he filled the highest situation in the patronage of the Company; the extreme unrelenting rigour with which the process was carried on, in direct violation of all those regards and decencies which the remotest antiquity, and universal usage, had rendered sacred; the virulent eagerness of Mr. Hastings, and his partizans, to expose, to blacken, to criminate, and even to execrate and vilify the character of an individual, thus hapless and degraded; and the gross profusion of foul intemperate language which stamps every apology which has yet been offered for these proceedings, are premises on which few competent and impartial judges would be apt to conclude, that in this political trial no species of sympathy subsisted between the Governor-general

general and the Supreme Court\*. Justice, the stable security of property and life, when impartially

\* In a minute of the Majority, whilst this important cause was pending before the Supreme Court, dated the 11th of April, 1755, it is accounted for in the manner following:

“ Maha Rajah Nuncomar, whom the Governor calls *miscreant*, we found had been, but a very little time before, his bosom friend, consulted on all occasions, and supported by him against the united *protest* of Messrs. Graham, Lawrel, and Dacres, who were closely connected with Mahomed Reza Cawn, although the Governor knew him to have been, as he *now* says, guilty of a forgery. We have reason to suspect that the intention was to make him Banyan to General Claverjng, to surround the General and us with the Governor's creatures, and to keep us totally unacquainted with the real state of the government. By this and other flimsy devices, so consonant to the principles of Asiatic policy, in which the Governor-general has been so long exercised, he probably flattered himself, that men unpractised in such arts, might be perplexed and circumvented. Nuncomar, finding himself deceived or disappointed by the Governor-general, soon made use of the means which his intimacy with the Governor had put in his power, to gratify his resentment. Whatever might have been his motives, his discoveries have thrown a clear light upon the Honourable Governor-general's conduct, and the means he had taken of making the very large fortune he is said to possess, of upwards of forty lacks of rupees, which he must have amassed in about two years and a half.”

The Governor's answer to the protest mentioned in the preceding minute, is designed, *Extract of the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, dated the 28th of July, 1772.* The dispute originated in the appointment of Nuncomar's son to the office of Dewan of the household, and manager of the Nabob's finances. Messrs. Dacres, Lawrel, and Graham, objected to this nomination, because they considered it in effect the appointment of Nuncomar, whose political conduct they criminated by a great variety of evidence. The Governor vindicates his

tially administered, was in this instance converted into a dastardly engine of tyranny. In the riot of unbridled ambition, the best founded claims of the innocent and obnoxious, become feeble and unavailing. The feelings of the natives were wantonly and incurably wounded, by the sufferings of Nuncomar. It was an insult to the customs, the laws, the religion of all the Gentoo nations. The fact on which a criminal process was founded against him, had then, and for some time before, been under

arrangement by a minute of some length, in which are those remarkable words.—“ He [Mr. Hastings] thinks it  
 “ but justice to make a distinction between the violation  
 “ of a trust, and an offence committed against our govern-  
 “ ment, by a man who owed it no allegiance, nor was in-  
 “ debted for protection; but, on the contrary, was the ac-  
 “ tual servant and minister of a master whose interest na-  
 “ turally suggested that kind of policy which sought, by  
 “ foreign aids, and the diminution of the power of the  
 “ Company, to raise his own consequence, and re-establish  
 “ his authority. He has never been charged with any in-  
 “ fidelity to the Nabob, Meer Jaffer, the constant tenor  
 “ of whose politics, from his first accession to the nizamat  
 “ till his death, correspond in all points so exactly with the  
 “ artifices which were detected in his minister, that they  
 “ may be as fairly ascribed to the one as to the other; their  
 “ immediate object was, beyond question, the aggrandise-  
 “ ment of the former, though the latter had ultimately an  
 “ equal interest in their success. The opinion which the  
 “ Nabob himself entertained of the services, and of the  
 “ fidelity of Nuncomar, evidently appeared, in the distin-  
 “ guished marks which he continued to shew him of his  
 “ favour and confidence to the latest hour of his life. His  
 “ conduct in the succeeding administration appears not  
 “ only to have been dictated by the same principles; but  
 “ if we may be allowed to speak favourably of any mea-  
 “ sures which oppose the views of our own government,  
 “ and aimed at the support of an adverse interest, surely it  
 “ was not only *not* culpable, but even *praiseworthy*.”

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legal investigation in a civil suit, the event of which could only be decided by the authenticity of the deed which he was charged with having forged. In a case so perfectly new and extraordinary, why was not the execution of the sentence suspended until his Majesty's pleasure could be known. But the Rajah was thus denied a respite, at the very instant of arrest under the protection of the board, in the midst of his evidence against the Governor-General, on a charge of betraying the confidence of his employers, in taking money from the Company's dependents. Combining all these circumstances together, it will be difficult to consider the trial and fate of Nuncomar in any other light than a political measure, tending to deter the natives from accusing, or even giving evidence of corrupt practices against any British subject in a situation of trust and influence. A management thus hostile to the safety of individuals, contributed in a great measure to render that timid and patient people rather reserved and dissembling, than disposed publickly to complain of abuse, or openly to resent injuries, not prompt to discover fraud, extortion, or peculation, but slyly to take refuge from oppression in the obliquities of intrigue, or the insignificance of vassalage. And such were the beginnings of that dark, insidious system of duplicity, concealment, inconsistency, temerity, and breach of faith, which was destined soon to colour and pervert all the departments of our Indian government, to envelop in impenetrable mystery the most important and interesting transactions which  
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afterwards took place between the Company's servants and the country powers, and to involve us in a series of embarrassments from which only such a combination of contingencies as could neither be foreseen nor expected could deliver.

These various and complicated transactions appeared, in the reports and accounts of them which reached England, in a shape perfectly mysterious and unintelligible. All the influence and management of the Governor-General, however, could not at that time reconcile the characteristic honesty of his countrymen to the numerous intrigues of which he stood accused. The inflexible and sturdy probity of a Clavering and his colleagues in opposition, commanded such a confidence and respect, as could only be diminished or lost by an almost total extinction of public virtue. Mr. Hastings's situation was now become desperate. His projects were not only suppressed, and his prerogatives circumscribed by a stubborn majority, but the odium raised against him by the natives, in consequence of his severities, was become personally disgusting. In proportion as the dread of his power abated, he was treated with less distinction and respect. His official duty was rendered irksome from the systematic animadversion to which all his actions were inevitably subjected, and his private hours were exhausted in digesting the materials of his public defence. It was in these circumstances that he conceived and executed an experiment in the science of politics, which is not surpassed by the most celebrated eccentricities in Machiavel, and  
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which leaves all the versatility even of our modern statesmen at the greatest distance. It is fortunate where a person succeeds to a situation of extensive authority, when the posture of affairs under his management corresponds with his talents and principles; but few are the characters who can uniformly accommodate themselves to the constant vicissitudes or mutations so incident to every state and modification of human life.

The delinquencies attributed to Mr. Hastings's official conduct, had drawn upon him the censure of the Court of Directors. This sentence was corroborated by the unanimous approbation of the Proprietors. It had even been resolved to prepare an application for Mr. Hastings's dismissal. Another general court was however called on this proceeding, and he was openly supported by a considerable majority, who professed to entertain a good opinion of his abilities and rectitude of intention, notwithstanding the censure passed upon him. They seemed disposed to acquiesce in what had been done, without being solicitous to push the matter farther. The offences specified were of a very serious nature, and but recently condemned. They did not, therefore, think it politic or decent to attack directly the resolution of the Directors, for applying to his Majesty, but were content with simply voting in the ballot, "That it should be re-considered." The consequence was, that the business remained in suspense for some months.

About this time Mr. Lauchlin Maclean was delegated from India to England, as the agent both  
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of the Nabob of Arcot and of Mr. Hastings. On the 10th of October, 1776, the Governor-General, by the agency of this gentleman, signified to the Court of Directors his desire to resign his office, and requested their nomination of a successor to the vacancy which would by that means be occasioned in the supreme council. To a requisition thus serious, important, and unexpected, the Directors hesitated, until they knew by what authority Mr. Maclean acted to decide a part. He alleged, however, that the credentials with which he was intrusted, by the papers in his custody being mixed with other matters of a nature extremely confidential, could not be produced in open court, but he was ready to submit them to the inspection of any three of their members they might think eligible for that purpose. A select committee was accordingly appointed, to examine the authenticity and validity of a proposition thus repugnant to the whole tenor of Mr. Hastings's official conduct. The gentlemen empowered for this purpose were, the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Richard Beecher, Esquire; who found from the purport of Mr. Hastings's instructions, contained in a writing given to Mr. Maclean, and produced by him to them, Mr. Hastings declared he would not continue in the government of Bengal, unless certain conditions therein specified could be obtained, of which they saw no probability. This report was authenticated at the same time by Mr. George Vansittart, who had been present when these instructions were given to Mr. Maclean; and Mr. Stewart likewise averred,

averted, that Mr. Hastings declared to him that he had given directions to the same purpose by Mr. Maclean.

This cautious and punctilious proceeding in the Court of Directors, probably originated in their dreading the charge of becoming accomplices to an evasion of the act, by which Mr. Hastings, resigning the service, would escape the consequence attached by law to a dismissal. Hitherto he had only been supported by a majority in the General Court; but if on application from the Directors to his Majesty and Council, then in contemplation, a removal should have taken effect, no interest could have possibly restored him. A clause in the Regulating Act of 1773 precluded for ever his return to the Company's service. Aware of a circumstance thus critical, the part they acted was singularly guarded. But nothing being now wanting to their satisfaction, the resignation was formally accepted. Mr. Wheeler was named to fill the vacancy, and presented for his Majesty's approbation, which was received. The measure was complete, and the situation thus vacated by Mr. Hastings legally filled. The whole proceeding of course being notified in Bengal, General Clavering, as senior in council, was entitled to succeed to the office of Governor-General.

In no part of his official conduct has Mr. Hastings submitted to those ties which have always been binding on others. On this occasion he embraced the hardy resolution of disavowing his agent, denying his letter, and renouncing his friends.—

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When General Clavering required him to surrender the keys of Fort William, and of the Company's treasures, he stoutly refused compliance, denied that his office was vacated, and declared his resolution to assert and maintain his authority by what he called every legal means. The immediate consequence of this unexpected pertinacity was an open schism in council. General Clavering asserted his right to the office, with which he conceived himself legally and formally invested by his superiors. He was strenuously supported in these pretensions by his friend Mr. Francis. Colonel Manson having died some months before, Mr. Barwell adhered to Mr. Hastings. These two parties assembled separately. A double government of consequence took place, and every thing was running fast into confusion. All authority was for the time suspended. And so high were these dissensions carried by the various adherents of the respective claimants, that the contest might have ended in a civil war, had not the judges of the supreme court, on a reference to them, settled the controversy, by deciding "that the resignation was an invalid act, and that Mr. Hastings was still in the legal possession of his place, notwithstanding his superiors had actually dispossessed him on his own terms, and supplied it by a new appointment." It was extraordinary enough that the nullity of this resignation should not have been discovered in England, where the documents and act authorizing the resignation were, where the agent by whom the measure had been formally executed was, where the eviden

## CHAPTER VIII.

*The first Maratto War—Anecdotes of that People—Interference by the Bombay Presidency in their Dissensions—Treaty with Ragoba—Colonel Upton's Deputation to Poonah—The Treaty of Poorunder—Dissatisfactions produced by that Event—The Political State of India at this Period.*

THE three principal interests, which at present divide and control the empire of Indostan, are the Hindoo, the Mahommedan, and the British. The two last originate and derive all their weight and establishment from a series of usurpations on the first, which is native and hereditary: And it is owing to the multifarious and discordant parts these interests separately involve, to a total want of union in their energies, and to an infinite diversity in the objects of their respective politics, that they have hitherto repelled successfully the encroachments of each other, and preserved their mutual independence; that a balance of power, could some degree adequate to the regulation and adjustment of their several claims, still operates; and consequently the whole continent of India is not at this moderation, but the seat of one gloomy, permanent, and unrelenting despotism.

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The Mogul empire no longer exists, but in fragments. The throne of Delhi is annihilated. The later stages of the Mahomedan policy resemble those diseases in the human frame, by which the extremities receive unnatural strength, while the heart is left in a state of debility. The officers of the crown every where accumulated inordinate wealth, while the general treasury of the empire was impoverished. Indolence succeeded to venality; and those who had not courage to rebel, were at the same time too lazy to obey. A cruel intriguing ministry distributed the imperial preferments with a wanton extravagance. Assassination soon became a part of the court system. Revolutions in the distant provinces were daily effected, by the murder of the respective governors. Those who succeeded, warned by the fate of their predecessors, retained the revenues they were deputed to collect, with the notorious intention of thwarting that authority, on which they continued to lavish the most specious professions of attachment.

The Marrattos, though not what they once were, are still formidable, from the situation and extent of their territories; the mildness of their laws, their inexhaustible resources, their numerous armies, and their manner of making war. They inhabit the mountainous and western divisions of the Indian peninsula. By the wisdom of their treaties, the force of their arms, and the asylum which refractory Rajahs and zemindars have found



found in their protection, they have stretched their dominions from sea to sea; from Surat to the Bay of Bengal, and from the remotest confines of Agra, northwards, to the mouth of the river Kistna, on the coast of Coromandel, including a tract of country above a thousand British miles long, by not less than seven hundred in breadth.

This immensely extended empire is divided by several Rajahs, whose connexion with the Peishwa or chancellor is like that of the German princes with the emperor, merely nominal. In some cases, an opposition of interests produces hostilities, not only among the subordinate members, but even the Peishwa himself is not unfrequently under the necessity of standing on his own defence against a combination of his tributaries. A general confederacy of the whole indeed seldom takes place, but when mutual preservation is the object, or on such emergencies only as would unite the most discordant states. Few enterprizes of foreign conquest or plunder are of magnitude enough to collect and marshal their scattered and numerous forces in one connected army, under the general standard of the empire.

Their form of government, rather from accident than design, has of late years become purely aristocratic : It is at present in the hands of eight chiefs, who, in the Company's records and other Indian documents, are called ministers, to distinguish them from the Ram Rajah, the nominal sovereign,

vereign, in whose name all business is still carried on, and every legal instrument authenticated. Though vested with supreme authority, with the absolute command of the troops, and with the sole prerogative of making peace or war, he is bound by the Gentoo law to select a council of assistance from the most learned among the Brahmins. These men, availing themselves of their situation, have given new energy to their characters as politicians, by accommodating the functions of their professions as priests to all the purposes of civil government. Being of a cast deemed all over India superior to mortals, they are objects of the most sacred and universal veneration; and, taking advantage of the indolence and insignificance which distinguished the reign of a former prince, have by degrees engrossed the whole power of the state. Superstition, the characteristic foible of a rude people, extends, confirms, and sanctifies their dominion.

In proportion as the power of the Mogul empire decreased, that of the Marrattos gathered strength. Their annual revenues are estimated at seventeen millions sterling; and arise chiefly from the tributary contributions of their various allies and dependencies; especially the Rajahs of Oudepore, Joudpore, Zegnagur, Bopoul, Narva, Bundelcund, and most of the richest principalities which lie in the vicinity of the Deccan, and the upper parts of the continent; from duties on several articles of commerce, from plunder, from customs, and  
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from innumerable other resources. The inhabitants groan under no enormous taxes. The government, inspired by the benignant genius of the national religion, is every where lenient and humane. No blood is shed, no outrage committed against the privileges of our common nature, but in war, and against an enemy. Their armies perhaps are more numerous than those in any other part of the world. They can bring into the field at least three or four hundred thousand well-appointed cavalry. Their horses are fleet and hardy; mounted by men accustomed to war from infancy, and trained with indefatigable vigilance for all the various purposes of military execution. Their hostile excursions are generally by parties too inconsiderable to provoke formal resistance, and too rapid to be in danger from any regular attack. They pour down from the hills and forests of the Deccan, when excited to revenge the injuries of the community at large, and spread destruction in the adjacent countries, with the fury and velocity of a whirlwind.

Under the predecessor of the present Ram Rajah, the government was an absolute monarchy. It was under this simple form that its territories had been enlarged; and that in population, finance, and martial reputation, it became so formidable to the peace of India. It was then vigorous and prosperous in all its measures; extended its frontiers in every quarter; and accumulated additional treasure and influence, from a constant accession

of new subjects and territory. Sahoojei, however, was a weak effeminate prince: His predominate passion was indolence: His time was wasted among buffoons, and in the Haram. To the sordid indulgence of a vulgar mind he sacrificed his own dignity, and that of his successor. The Peishwa usurped the sovereignty, established his residence at Poonah, and shut up his master in Settarah (about sixty miles distant), where Ram Rajah still lives in the same torpid splendor, receives the same insulting homage, and exercises the same unmeaning formalities of state which formerly distinguished the supreme magistrate in this mighty empire: For though he still retains the name of sovereign, and invests the Peishwa with the forms of that office, it is the only act of superiority he exerts. Nor has he so much as an option in the nomination, as Bajirow, who first realized the power, had the address to render it hereditary in his family. This chief left two sons, Balajei Row and Ragoba: The one was acknowledged Peishwa on the death of his father; the other had the command of a distant province. Balajei Row died when his eldest son (Madarow) was but eighteen years of age, who, notwithstanding, seized the reins of administration, and promised to wield them with extraordinary steadiness and dexterity. Ragoba, on the news of his brother's death, hastened to the scene of action, and demanded the regency, as the natural guardian of his nephew: But his claims were rejected. He next applied to  
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the Subah of the Deccan, who assisted him to make head against Madarow with a formidable army. A battle was fought, in which he had the advantage. He was then recalled to Poonah, and invested with the Peishwaship; where he became a second time the victim of his own, or the intrigues of an interested junto, who, led on by the mother of the young Peishwa, took advantage of his inexperience to raise a faction against the uncle. Aware of the storm, which threatened every moment to burst on his head, he was more than ever anxious to make his escape, but was seized in the attempt and imprisoned. In this situation he remained till within a very short time of his nephew's decease. This young man had discovered, in the course of a few years, a peculiar capacity for government. His measures had proved wise and successful. The career of Hyder Ally's conquests was effectually checked; and the Marrattos, under the politics and activity of an enterprising leader, began to co-operate, resumed their former prowess, and recaptured most of those territories which, in the period of their debility and relaxation, had been violently wrested from them. He was destined, however, to relinquish the prospect of increasing prosperity, throughout an immense and flourishing empire, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Before he expired, he called his uncle from confinement, and, judging him by the generosity which warmed his own breast, treated him with a confidence so perfectly cordial and

sincere, that he consigned his brother and successor, Narrain Row, entirely to his care; and earnestly conjured him to take the young Peishwa under his protection. He succeeded, accordingly, to the management of affairs; but whether he conceived a dislike to his nephew, or was duped by the politics of the Bramins, who still laboured to undermine his influence; or was not sufficiently on his guard against the insidious artifices of his sister-in-law, who had conceived a dislike to his character, and used all her address, both in public and private, to counteract and circumvent him; or, intoxicated with his recent good fortune, incurred popular odium by arts of oppression; it is impossible to determine, from the obscurity into which the fact has been thrown by the sophistry of party disputants. The machinations of his enemies, however, soon prevailed, and he was once more deprived of power, and thrown into prison, for concerting a plan, with Hyder Ally, for usurping the government. Gopicaboy was, at the same time, highly incensed against him for the adoption of a near relation, by which, contrary to the custom of the East, his riches and eventual title to the Peishwaship might be transferred to another family. Ragoba in the mean while consulted his friends, or rather the enemies of Narrain Row, whose profligacies estranged from him even the ministers of his own party; and, in concert with them, a plan was formed of effecting a revolution, which promised once more  
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to reinstate him in his former situation. The scheme most likely to produce this important event, was the murder of the young Peishwa. Whether Ragoba was the author of this black action or not, it was undoubtedly perpetrated with his concurrence, as it happened in the apartment where Ragoba was confined, and where his unfortunate nephew had fled for refuge. His character became odious and detestable in proportion as his guilt was known and credited. His friends were unable to withstand the general indignation excited by a charge thus marked with ingratitude and treachery. The widow of Narrain was soon after said to be delivered of a son. In consequence of these occurrences, Nana, Saccaram, and others of the Bramin council, acting in favour of the infant Peishwa, and availing themselves of Ragoba's absence on a remote expedition, strengthened their party with infinite eagerness and assiduity, and drove him reluctantly from Poonah. Nor was it without manifest difficulty, that he eluded the public vengeance, by abandoning his country, and taking sanctuary in the presidency of Bombay. The immediate consequence of his precipitate departure from this theatre of intrigue, was the union of Sindia, Holkar, and five other Marratto chiefs, with the Bramin confederacy, who, under the denomination of *Twelve Friends*, or *Barrab Bhi*, agreed to acknowledge the title of the infant prince, for whom they obtained from the Rajah the *Sirpaw* of office, and

to exclude the fugitive uncle from all share in the future government of the empire.

In this brief account of the Marrattos it ought not to be forgotten, that the extensive dominions of Berar are included. Moodajee Boonla, however, exercises an independent sovereignty, throughout a populous and extensive kingdom. Nor does he acknowledge any further connection with the Poonah government than his own immediate interests dictate, or than the remains of consanguinity may incline him to cultivate. For whatever claims he may have to the sovereignty of Poonah, from his relationship to the family of the Ram Rajah, he has given very substantial proof, that it is no part of his ambition to relinquish the reality for what is no more than the mere semblance of authority.

Sindia and Holkar, who trace their pedigree to Hindoo kings, of the highest antiquity, divide by much the largest parts of the rich and extensive Subah of Malwa, which border on the Vizier's countries to the East, and those of Berar to the South-west. The conduct of these politic princes was to moderate the violence of both parties, and to commit themselves without reserve in prosecuting the schemes of neither. From a regard to their own interests, they were naturally disposed to support the balance of dissention, that no side might, from a conscious superiority, presume to exact the arrears of their tribute. And they probably found themselves upon the whole  
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more secure, by thus participating in the general greatness of the state, and presiding at the head of that aristocracy, which since the assassination of Narrain Row guides all its councils, than by taking advantage of its temporary weakness, to aim at a precarious independency, under the restrictions of a contracted influence in their own country.

Most of the other states are evidently directed by circumstances and contingency, in acting under the control or co-operating in any general plan of conduct with the Poonah government. But these detached principalities were bound in the earlier periods of their history to furnish on emergency, and at the requisition of the sovereign, a certain quota of cavalry completely equipped for service. Such severities were however exercised for increasing their armies, as threatened the depopulation of the country. Their military force consequently no longer consists in tributaries, but in allies, who take the field on a stipulated subsidy. Every cavalier, who flocks to the Imperial standard, knows his risk, and is the owner both of his horse and arms. Their mode of war, so habitually directed to plunder, entices into their service, on any sudden and favourable project, every adventurer who can procure a horse. But, as the horse is often the whole of a Marratto's property and fortune, they solicitously avoid all regular conflicts with disciplined troops, and before whom, for the same reason, their flight

is no proof either of their defeat or dispersion. They move from country to country, and change their situations with incredible expedition; take both their food and sleep on horseback; rush eagerly into the field at the summons of their several chieftains, and in their progress sweep every thing before them with the rapidity of a torrent. Their principal strength however consists in what are called the household troops or private cavalry, who are commanded by the Paha Sidars, and whose horses and accoutrements are the property of the state. It is their constant and universal practice to return home at the end of each campaign with their booty, except a few select bodies, who are in fact the personal guards of their princes and great men.

The Bombay presidency, by espousing the cause of Ragoba, incensed this powerful and martial people to regard the British interests, in every part of India, with sentiments of deliberate and inveterate antipathy. They discerned the insidious policy of the Company's servants, in availing themselves of their family dissensions; and were eager to prevent the injuries which it indicated. Construing the orders of the Directors with the same liberality which had uniformly been done in the other presidencies, the Bombay council did not conceive themselves prohibited absolutely from hostilities, but immediately prepared for war, in the presumption, at least, that an addition of treasure or territory would compensate  
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with some, for what might appear to others an instance of delinquency. The Directors, in their general letter, so early as the year 1769, observe to their servants, on this settlement, “ That Salsette and Bassain, with their dependencies, and the Marratto proportion of the Surat provinces, were all that they sought for on that side of India.” The reigning junto in Poonah, foreseeing the difficulty of defeating the machinations of Ragoba, while the English persisted in affording him protection, was prepared for the consequence. Nor were the president and council disposed to omit so favourable an opportunity of trying their fortune in war, of gratifying their own ambition, and of realizing the wishes of their employers, by seizing the territories they were so anxious to possess. They consequently invaded, under various pretexts, such portions of the enemy’s country as lay most contiguous to Bombay. The first stroke is often decisive on the fate of a campaign. The Rajah was, in some degree, surprised, though he defended himself with unexpected vigour and address. Our operations being confined, for the most part, to the sea-coast, the promptitude of the marine and artillery was, on every occasion, attended with the best effect. A demand having been made upon the Nabob of Broach, in April 1771, for a considerable sum, arising from arrears of tribute, and an overcharge in the customs on merchants trading under the Company’s protection, for years, an expedition  
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was, at the same time, undertaken against the place, to force a compliance with that requisition. This attempt, however, being frustrated, the Nabob had visited Bombay in the interim, and compromised the difference. But the terms to which he agreed were sedulously eluded on his part; and the council thought their honour interested in seeing them realized. This produced a second enterprize; in which, though successful, the loss of Colonel Wedderburne, an officer of distinguished merit, was considered as a misfortune which more than counterbalanced all the advantage of the capture. Bassein, the island of Salfette, and a few smaller ones, were soon after reduced. Other acquisitions were also made by General Gordon, who had succeeded Colonel Wedderburne in the command. These proceedings originated in an apprehension, whether well or ill founded, that the Portuguese were meditating the recovery of the dominions they had formerly possessed, especially Salfette and Bassein; places of the greater consequence to the Bombay establishment, as the inhabitants were almost supplied with provisions from the one, and their dockyard, the only one belonging to the Company in India, with timber from the other.

In the mean time, the presidency of Madras entered into a fresh agreement with Ragoba, by which he stipulated the cession of some valuable territories, for which they were to furnish him with two thousand five hundred of the Company's  
troops;

troops; whose service, in his behalf, was also to be entirely at his expence. These forces, under the command of Colonel Keating, were instantly embarked for Surat, and ordered to join Ragoba, who menaced Broderah, at the head of forty thousand horse. While in this position, however, the enemy, by an unexpected attack, gave him a complete defeat, obliged him to raise the siege precipitately, and to retreat with only about a thousand horse. He fled to Cambay, but was denied admittance. He next made the best of his way to Bownagar, and from thence, in a galliot, came to Surat. The confederate army lay between Ragoba and Keating, and struggled, though without success, to prevent their junction, which took place on the 19th of April, 1775. About this time great dissensions prevailed among the ministers and their associated chiefs. Moodajee Sindia openly deserted their cause, and carried with him, to his own country, twelve thousand horse; the sincerity of Holkar was doubted, and his motions were watched with suspicion; the Nizam did not fulfil his engagements; and their ally, Shabagee, who had succeeded so far in a contest with his brother, Moodajee Boonsla, as to beat him in a pitched battle, and make him prisoner, was found, next morning, dead in bed. These mortifying circumstances to the Poonah junto gave an auspicious aspect to the fortunes of Ragoba, whose want of money seemed, at this time, his only difficulty. It was not till the middle of next month

month that an engagement took place between the two armies, when the forces under Keating and Ragoba suffered considerably, from an unfortunate order, ill repeated perhaps, and not well understood, to seize some of the enemy's guns. The first company of European grenadiers, turning rather precipately to the right, were obliged to retreat. They were followed by the Madras infantry, and these by several companies of sepoys. In scrambling through some broken hedges, they were in too great a hurry to keep their ranks. At that moment a body of horse charged them with fury and success. They were instantly in confusion, fled on all sides, and could not be rallied and brought again to the attack, even by the commander in chief. Many officers fell; and the slaughter must have been general but for the artillery; which, being turned against the Marrattos, who crowded with great intrepidity wherever the battle raged most, soon dispersed them. This was the only loss we sustained. The number of men, horses, and elephants, which were killed of the enemy, so effectually damped their spirits, that they cautiously ever after avoided a regular engagement. The combined troops kept up the pursuit, but never overtook them till some weeks afterwards, when they closed in with their rear, killed many of their men, drove vast numbers of their horse and camels into the sea, and destroyed their cannon.

Futty Sing, who had sided with the confederates against Ragoba and the English at the commencement of hostilities, was one of those discontented chiefs who had deserted the party. He was influenced by the common politics of Asia, and of mankind, in giving that interest the preference, which was likely to prove the strongest. The prosperity which began to attend the affairs of Ragoba determined him to conclude an agreement with that chief, through the agency of the English, to whom he not only confirmed those grants which Ragoba had made in the country, under his government, but ceded to them, at the same time, an annuity of eighteen thousand pounds. He submitted to pay Ragoba the usual tribute, to furnish him the aid claimed by the Durbar of Poonah, and, what was of most material importance at this crisis, to pay him twenty-six lacks of rupees, within the space of sixty days. This advantageous treaty of peace and alliance was concluded in the month of July. The affairs of the Company, at the same time, were equally prosperous by sea as by land. The Poonah administration had, early in the campaign, equipped a squadron, consisting of five ships; one of forty-six, two of thirty-two, and two of twenty-six guns; with ten gallawats or small armed vessels. These were destined to intercept the British trade, and infest those seas and coasts where they were likely to do us most mischief, and secure for themselves the whole booty. But Commodore

John Moore soon fell in with them, and gave them a total overthrow. In this manner were the enemy's schemes every where defeated, and those of Ragoba crowned with success. The friends and adherents of the confederacy became unstable; and dispersed in proportion as the pressure of those accumulating misfortunes operated on the public. The promise of large sums, which had allured the Nabobs and Rajahs who had fought their battles, to exchange domestic tranquillity for the perils and fatigues of war, was not punctually discharged. The troops were clamorous for their pay, and their leaders were naturally disgusted with a losing cause. Furkia, the general, found his situation peculiarly critical and hazardous. The chiefs were mutinous, and his resources were exhausted. Those who had lost their horses loudly demanded their stipulated hire of their respective leaders, who pressed in their turns the commander in chief; and the sharrfs or bankers had already refused to answer his drafts. These distresses very considerably increased the distractions in the Durbar. Saccaram and Nana had dispatched Vakeels, or commissioners, to treat of an accommodation with the presidency. These were to act separately. One of them fell sick on his arrival. Before his recovery, the president likewise became so ill, that he was utterly unfit for all public business. And the council were cautious of discovering any unnecessary eagerness for peace, as such a sentiment, on such a critical occasion,



occasion, would have been susceptible of a most improper construction, and might have inclined the enemy's Vakeel to demand terms infinitely more advantageous than those ultimately intended by the commission.

Thus circumstanced were the presidency of Bombay, Ragoba, and the Marratto states, when positive orders arrived from the governor-general and council of Bengal, to withdraw the troops; and put an immediate end to all hostilities with the Poonah administration. The majority seemed perfectly resolved to realize that pacific system on which they avowedly acted, wherever their influence extended. They had left England in the expectation of finding all the Company's settlements in a state of friendship or neutrality with every power in India: It was not without considerable surprise and concern, that the politics of the preceding administration in Bengal had undeceived them; and that, in proportion as their acquaintance with facts improved, the Company's affairs every where assumed a very different aspect. And the same principles, which determined their opinion of the motives, object and consequences of the Rohilla war, were now brought forward to criminate that which the presidency of Bombay had commenced against the Marrattos.

From the moment the supreme government had been formally announced, as directed by act of parliament, to the several presidencies, that

liberal and implicit confidence, which ought to be reciprocal and unreserved among all the branches of the executive power, seems to have been wanting in the presidency of Bombay. They did not formally disavow their subordinate capacity, dispute the supremacy of the governor-general and council, or signify in express terms their disapprobation of the new government. But, had they resolved to substantiate every allegation against the Company's servants abroad, which had rendered them so odious among their countrymen at home; had they been previously acquainted with the rigidly inoffensive system, which a majority of the supreme council thought it their duty to maintain, and under the strongest obligations to counteract its operations; or had they pre-concerted a scheme of satiating their ambition as effectually as ever, in a wanton defiance of the legislature, by taking advantage of their distant situation, to indulge their temerity before they could feel the influence of that control, under which, in the instance of making peace and war, they were henceforth destined to act; it is difficult to conceive what measures better calculated for answering these views could have been devised or adopted. Their manner of consulting the opinion of the supreme government rendered their cordial acquiescence in its authority extremely suspicious. They imparted no intelligence of their proceedings but such as they could not withhold. The news of their military operations generally reached

reached Bengal long before any official dispatches were received. And these were drawn up with so little precision and minuteness, that they afforded no satisfactory information on the specific matters they professed to explain. When a battle was fought, a movement made, or a resolution formed, they barely stated the fact, without any detail of those circumstances on which a proper conception of it depended. Nor were their communications more sparing than dilatory, as if the supreme council had no interest in the knowledge of any of their schemes until they were finally executed. They were therefore repeatedly required to give ample and immediate information of their political situation, as the most particular account of all the events which had happened, or might occur to the interests of the Company in that quarter, was expected by the new administration, who were under the necessity of remaining inactive till they heard from Bombay.

Orders to this effect, and prohibiting in express terms the specific measures then carrying on, were sent to Bombay, early in 1775. To these no answer was received for nearly the space of three months; when their agreement and co-operation with Ragoba, with the sole view of acquiring territory, were explicitly avowed. Mr. Hastings on this occasion entered a very formal and elaborate disapprobation of the system which predominated in the presidency of Bombay. He condemned the hostilities in which they were en-

pointed to attend him for that purpose. Letters were also written to the Poonah minister, announcing the colonel's departure. Saccaram, who led the Poonah faction at this time, had arisen from such a state of original obscurity and want, as prevented his receiving the very rudiments of education. Though, in fact, premier of one of the greatest states in the world, he could neither read nor write. Unfortunately the Bramin, who acted as his confidential secretary, had been governor of the province in which the late captures, made by the Company's forces, were situated. Fresh instructions were therefore dispatched to their Vakeels at Bombay, which arrived before they had declared in form the original purport of their mission. They now insisted on having the person of Ragoba delivered into their hands; the immediate restoration of Salfette; and the complete evacuation of every other place we had wrested from them. They promised, in return, to make some pecuniary compensation for the expences we had incurred. It ought to be considered, that hostilities began with us; that we had received no provocation from the Marrattes; that they had a right to demand their own dominions; that these were not the less their's for our having taken forcible possession of them; that their moderation was sufficiently evinced by confining their claims to a strict restitution; and that the reimbursement they offered, not only proved how sincerely they were disposed to negotiate, but  
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was an article we had no title, in justice, to expect. These are the terms, however, which the advocates for the purity of Asiatic policy would represent as hard and inadmissible. It is thus they would decide the differences of nations, on maxims which tear up, by the roots, every barrier of property, and outrage all the feelings and principles of equity between man and man.

Under the influence of the same fatal system, the prosperous situation of the presidency, and of their ally's affairs, at this precise period, was eagerly brought forward, as an unanswerable argument for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Thunderstruck by the peremptory orders of the supreme council for the immediate recal of the detachment which co-operated with Ragoba, and the unexpected embassy of Colonel Upton to the court of Poonah, in their answer to the official dispatches which brought the mortifying intelligence, the gentlemen of Bombay express the highest concern at the measures prescribed for effecting a general pacification; and signify their apprehensions, that the interests of the Company would receive the most essential injury by the adoption of a plan which, at the same time, fixed indelible disgrace on the presidency. They justified their interference with the domestic quarrels of the Marratto states, from the necessity they were under of openly vindicating their seizure of Salfette. They preferred the cause of Ragoba, notwithstanding the atrocious treachery and murder

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der for which he was expelled by his countrymen ; and assisted him with their troops, because he gave the Company the right of acquiring a revenue of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. They even asserted the propriety and justice of making war, in this manner, on the rebellious subjects of their ally. And they press the indignity done them in not intrusting the negotiation to one of their number ; alledging the facility of having accomplished it on the most honourable and advantageous terms, but for the information thus officially given to the Poonah government of the Company's eagerness to obtain peace.

Not satisfied with having remonstrated in these terms, they deputed Mr. Taylor, a member of the select committee, to state their complaints, in person, before the board. He, therefore, presented a memorial, which contains, in addition to the arguments on which the Bombay presidency ground their proceedings in their engagement with Ragoba, a variety of political reasoning against the interruption given to them by the resolution and orders of the supreme council ; an introductory account of the Marratto state ; the rise and establishment of the Peishwa's power ; the contiguity and connection, in policy and commerce, with the Company's possessions in the West of India ; the dominions or districts held by the great chiefs of the nation ; in what degree dependent on the Poonah government, particularly the  
Boonflas,

Boonslas, the Guicawars, and Sindia and Holkar; those various events and intrigues which occasioned the divisions in the Peishwa's family, and by that means involved the presidency of Bombay in their quarrels; the comparative situation and force of the contending parties in the war, at the time when hostilities ceased; and the probable disposition of the Nizam and Hyder Ally during these disturbances. He gives also an exact description of the situation, revenue, and other productive advantages, arising from the several cessions of territory made by Ragoba and Futty Sing. He urges, in strong and earnest terms, the dangerous and disgraceful consequences of declaring a treaty, thus beneficial, invalid and null; especially as it might impel Ragoba to throw himself, for assistance, on other powers. He concludes by strenuously insisting, that, whether it should be resolved to terminate these affairs by arms or negotiation, it was absolutely expedient to revoke the orders for withdrawing the troops.

The board having considered the question, whether their former orders should be enforced, or for the present suspended, the original resolution was confirmed, except that it was agreed to leave the option with the president and council of Bombay, to withdraw their troops into such of their garrisons as they might chuse. Mr. Taylor, with no better success, after signifying the utmost concern at the determination of the board, desired, in a subsequent paper, to add a further representation of the

the very great dishonour the Bombay council would suffer from intrusting the conduct of the negotiation with an entire stranger. He put them in mind that one of their board had been appointed by the Company themselves to reside at Poonah, with particular instructions and powers for negotiation with Madarow, the then Peshwa; and that, from their knowledge of the views, connections, and interests of the different persons in the Poonah Durbar, they must be best qualified to transact such matters; and that they should all be animated by zeal for the honour and interest of their employers, and would pay implicit obedience to whatever directions they might receive from the supreme council in managing this important measure. Mr. Taylor was, however, given to understand, that the supreme council could not agree to repeal or change the appointment of Colonel Upton, consistently with the resolutions which they had publicly signified to the ministers at Poonah; but that they by no means intended to throw any slight on the presidency of Bombay, which they should always endeavour to protect from every species of indignity or disrespect.

In the mean time, Colonel Upton proceeded across the continent, and encountered, in his way, a great variety of difficulties. His correspondence, from the different stages of his journey, exhibit a most unpleasant account of the distress and confusion of the countries through which he passed.

Notwithstanding



Notwithstanding frequent assurances from the court of Poonah, that orders had been given to facilitate his route through the Marratto dominions, by several accounts received in Bengal, that fact appeared very doubtful. He received, as he passed through Benares, a letter from the Poonah minister, written in a stile so little flattering to the object of his embassy, that he deemed it necessary to complain of it to his superiors. He ascribed the delay of his journey to the inattention of the Durbar, from whom he had received no regular advices, and who had not even apprised the Sardars of the different districts of the business on which he was deputed, and of his travelling through their country, which he found every where in arms; he was nearly six months on this tedious and perilous journey. By means of his route, a geographical line was first drawn across the continent of India, through the principal places or points between Agra and Poonah; and which, by establishing a great many capital and interesting geometrical positions, has become a fund of the best local intelligence, and considerably enriched the science of geography.

The colonel, who had set out on the 10th of July, did not arrive at Poonah till the 30th of December, 1775. His reception was equal to the magnitude of the objects he was deputed to address. He found the internal commotions, which agitated the Marratto states, pregnant with ruptures in almost every quarter of that mighty empire.

pire. The posthumous son of Narrain Row had frustrated the machinations of Ragoba, who wished to have extinguished his brother's line. The infant being forthwith proclaimed Peishwa, Saccaram Pundit, and Nana Furnese, were constituted the acting ministers or regents for carrying on the affairs of state in his name. Nor were the partizans of Ragoba inattentive to the various shapes which the aspect of public business was accustomed to assume, under scenes thus fluctuating and embroiled. By artfully inflaming the proud ambitious views of the several chiefs, and exciting their personal jealousies against each other, they kept the ministerial party in a perpetual ferment, and rendered many of their most essential exertions in the service of the public odious or abortive.

The propositions, which Upton laid before the Durbar, were not altogether, or at once, unexceptionable. The temerity of the presidency in Bombay had offended the ministers, almost beyond the possibility of forgiveness. The complicated system, under which the English acted, probably struck them as precarious and equivocal: They had seen the favourite measures of the Bombay gentlemen controlled by the supreme council of Bengal. These they knew to be no more than the servants of a trading company, who, in common with the whole body they employed, were responsible for whatever they did to the British legislature. Involved in a variety of such

embarrassing circumstances, they regarded, at least in the first instance, the overtures of the supreme council, with a reserve which bordered on aversion. A debate immediately arose in the Durbar, from Colonel Upton being instructed to insist on the signatures of all the chiefs, individually, to whatever engagements might take place between them. The ministerial party, though obviously strong, seemed yet not a little desirous to hasten the conclusion of a peace. The conduct of the Bombay forces appeared to them, however, not without suspicion. They insisted the more explicitly on the equivocal situation of ours, that they gave the most satisfying assurances, that the behaviour of their own was strictly pacific. The presidency of Bombay, at the same time, as if they intended utterly to destroy every symptom of returning friendship, advised Ragoba to accompany the British troops, with such of his army as he might be able to maintain, in order to avoid the evil effects of a separation. They were also prevailed upon, by his earnest entreaties, to agree, that both armies should remain at Corrade, a place in the neighbourhood of Surat, belonging to the Nabob, until orders still more peremptory should arrive from Bengal; as Ragoba might be totally deserted when thus abandoned by them. These motions of the troops were by no means calculated to facilitate the negotiation, or reconcile the Marhattos to an implicit confidence in the declarations of Englishmen. Indeed, they had been taught  
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to expect that Colonel Upton was empowered to treat with them on equal terms, without making any demands whatever. They were much against allowing the further possession of Salsette, or agreeing to the surrender of Bassein. They probably did not conceive it possible, that, without a better claim, our commissioner could be authorized to urge a condition, which in the estimation of common justice was absurd and ridiculous. And they asked him, as he observes, a thousand times, why we made such professions of honour, and disapproved the war entered into by the Bombay government, while so desirous of availing ourselves of its advantages. They say, the governor-general and council of Calcutta have deputed you to negotiate with us on terms honourable to both nations, yet all advantage and honour is confined to yourselves.

He informed the board, that he must be satisfied with a factory instead of Bassein; that he should insist on retaining Salsette, though an end to the treaty should follow their refusal of an acquiescence; that they acknowledged no grants in any part of the Guzurat to be valid but their own; that a certain stipend, and number of attendants, would be allowed to Ragoba; and that the frequent reports, of the deplorable situation to which the reigning party were reduced, were unfounded, as they still had a numerous army, no want of money, and were in alliance with the  
Nizam,

Nizam, who had lately sent a large body of horse to join their forces.

Mr. Taylor, who was still at Calcutta, repeating, both in public and private, the same stale unavailing plea against the majority, which had brought him from Bombay, embraced this opportunity of giving into the board a fresh remonstrance; in which he roundly adopted the confident assertions of the presidency, concerning the favourable situation of Ragoba's affairs; and supported their arguments for preferring, even on political motives, a treaty with him, to any that might be settled with his opponents. And that he might defeat the impressions of Colonel Upton's representations, he adds with peculiar shrewdness, "that the colonel dated from the  
 " fort of Poorunder, where he is surrounded by  
 " the ministers and their creatures, whose interest  
 " it is to misinform him with respect to their own  
 " strength and importance, and to secrete from  
 " him every circumstance favourable to Ragoba  
 " and his partizans. Their patience, skill and  
 " dissimulation, in conducting political negotiations, are well known in India. It is almost useless  
 " to insist on the different credulity that is due to  
 " the information collected under these disadvantages, and those communicated by gentlemen  
 " in whose honour you have a security from intentional deceit, and whose caution is warranted by the danger they incur, should their  
 " ill-grounded intelligence mislead you into mea-

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"sures

“ fures that might not otherwise be deemed expedient.”

This tiresome negotiation being procrastinated to such a length, as rendered the pacific intentions of the Poonah ministry suspicious, even to the majority, it was at last unanimously agreed, by the governor-general and council, to direct Colonel Upton, in case he had not already concluded a treaty, to conform to his former instructions; and that, if the Poonah government did not accede to the overtures implied in these, he should demand his dismissal, and retire to Bombay within six days after the receipt of these orders. The very next day, however, a letter was received by the board from Colonel Upton, which informed them, that all hope of concluding a treaty was at an end. The supreme council immediately resolved, that though the abrupt declaration of the ministry might be only a feint, to try what impression it might make on the colonel's mind to support a renewal of the war, it was necessary to provide the means of conducting it with the greatest probability of success. They were at the same time agreed to acquaint the several presidencies, and their different dependencies, of the hostile situation to which the affairs of the Company were reduced. To the president and council of Bombay in particular, while they declared themselves not responsible for the measures which had involved the Company in this quarrel, they released that government from the  
restrictions

restrictions which they had laid upon the operations of their army, and authorized them to give the most effectual support to Ragoba, instructing them to assign the command of the troops to General Gordon, whom alone they deemed fit to be intrusted with a charge of such consequence.

All these preparatory resolutions for war, however, by the receipt of a letter from Colonel Upton, dated the 24th of February [1776] were converted into an immediate determination to revoke them, as he informed the board, that certain articles were agreed upon between him and the ministers, which would be ready for transmission in a few days. These were dispatched from Poonah, to the supreme government, the first of the following month; when the colonel acquainted them of several particulars in regard to the difficulties he had experienced in arranging the plan, the terms, and the stile of the pacification, and of the further steps he should take in accomodating all remaining points of doubt or difference, especially the question about the cession made by Futty Sing in the Guzurat country.

The advantageous acquisitions which were secured to the Company by this treaty, were Salfette and the adjacent islands in the bay of Bombay, the city and Purgunnah of Broach, without participation or claim of any kind, and a considerable district in the neighbourhood. The whole produced above an hundred thousand pounds of clear annual revenue. It disannulled all preceding

treaties made by the Bombay council with Ragoba or Futty Sing; revoked the several cessions of those chiefs to the English; obliged the troops of Ragoba to disperse, and our's to retire within the limits of the presidency; provided him with an asylum in the heart of the Marratto dominions, a body guard, domestics, and a revenue adequate to his rank; bound up the English from affording him, or any person disturbing the peace of the Marratto states, the least support or countenance whatever; and engaged to indemnify the Company for the expences occasioned by the war, with the sum of twelve lacks, to be paid within two years.

This treaty, notwithstanding the many solid advantages which it conferred on the Company, was deemed by the Bombay council inadequate, and highly injurious to the reputation and interest of the English, in that part of India. General Gordon and Colonel Upton, however, who considered disinterestedly what ought reasonably to have been expected, from an impartial attention to the unjustifiable circumstances of the rise and progress of the war, the ill management of it under the command of the troops employed, the want of resources for carrying it on, the state of contending parties, and the sentiments of the Company, thought it sufficiently honourable and expedient. Indeed, upon the principles assumed in reasoning against it, no political reputation can ever be valid, as it can never be equally satisfactory to both parties. Though the war may have left us in a situation



ation to insist on higher terms, it was a war into which we had not been provoked by the Marrattos: The injury was given by us, and justice required that we should have redressed the wrongs we inflicted.

But, from the great contrariety of opinions among the various parties concerned, it was not very likely that the peace would be lasting. In proportion as the Poonah ministry were solicitous to carry into execution the agreement stipulated, the Bombay council hesitated, magnified the difficulties of an immediate compliance with the mandate of the supreme board, and procrastinated in every step they took to fulfil their part of the engagement. Ragoba considered himself as sold to his enemies, in whose custody he was placed by the treaty, without any pledge or security for his safety. The residence stipulated for him by the Poonah ministry struck him as a prison, where their creatures only were to surround him, and where it would be impossible to prevent their disposing of him, whenever it might suit their purposes, as they pleased. These apprehensions were undoubtedly heightened by a consciousness of what he deserved, and what might be so easily perpetrated by those who possessed similar principles to his own. He therefore refused to accept of the terms in which he was included, and thought himself entitled to an asylum in one of the Company's settlements. The presidency of Bombay, in their dispatches to Bengal of the 30th of

March, pressed the requisitions of their ally, on the superior council, with great earnestness. In their opinion, he should have been given an option in the situation of his residence: Nor would the ministers have objected to it without a sinister intention. He would have proved an useful instrument for keeping the Marrattos in awe. But, circumstanced as he was by the treaty of Poorunder, he was now determined to appeal to the justice of the honourable Company, and await their determination at Bombay. They lamented the dereliction of the advantages secured by the treaty of Surat, and predicted the loss of the Guicawar districts.

This intelligence created strong debates in the supreme council. One party foresaw, from the obstinacy of the Bombay presidency, a renewal of the war, which they were sincerely anxious to prevent. The other, by habitually apologizing for the conduct of these gentlemen, and partially adopting their censures of the treaty, seemed rather intent on precipitating that event. Before any direct reply could be framed to the Bombay letter, fresh information was received from Colonel Upton, of a nature still more serious and alarming. He stated the peculiar uneasiness which the measures of the Bombay council produced in the Durbar, that they complained of Ragoba's being permitted to seek a residence among the English, as that circumstance might interrupt the harmony which it was the interest and inclination of both nations to cultivate; that by our protracting,

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ing, or rather taking part in the disputes between them and Ragoba, we occasioned the whole expence of keeping up an army, which, including the Nizam's forces, amounted to thirty lacks of rupees per month; that the stile in which Colonel Keating had proclaimed the peace, as having taken place between the honourable Company and the *Poonah ministers*, not the *Marratto states*, gave the highest offence; and that, in defiance of every delicacy due to the respective powers concerned in this solemn transaction, the commander of our troops had given the promise of protection to Ragoba, and proposed sending his elephants, horses, and other articles of equipage, into the neighbourhood of Broach, under escort of a detachment from that garrison.

It was about this time that Subada, a person of the Peishwa family, who was said to have been slain in battle, and who had been for years imprisoned in the fort of Rutnah-Geriah, had made his escape, and was joined by several chiefs, and even by the admiral of the Marratto fleet. He had pretensions also to the Peishwathip; and though these were soon effectually invalidated, his appearance afforded an apology for Ragoba not disbanding his troops, according to the terms of the late treaty. But the true reason was, that he had no money to pay them. On this little army moving to the environs of Surat, it was deemed necessary, with the troops lately under the command of Keating, to reinforce the garrisons, that no accident

might happen from the vicinity of such a force. A circumstance which excited new jealousies in the Poonah ministers, who complained to Colonel Upton, that the Bombay council had not restored the places ceded by treaty ; that they had supplied Ragoba with military stores ; that, as Hyder Ally had forced the Company to fulfil their engagements, his example would justify their adoption of the same means ; and that, if proper and complete satisfaction was not obtained in these several particulars, they would carry fire and sword through all the Company's dominions. The presidency of Bombay roundly denied these assertions, and insisted that they had sent to Surat and Broach for delivering up the Purgunnah, but no persons proper to receive them had appeared ; that the present situation of Ragoba was owing to contingencies which they did not foresee, and for which they were not accountable ; and that they were so far from plotting to renew the war, as to refuse a junction with the Nizam, or to pledge the English faith ; that in restoring Ragoba they should not oppose him. They recriminated with great asperity on the Poonah government, who, notwithstanding their strong pretensions of attachment to the interests of the Company, had yet permitted no communication or intercourse with their dominions ; that no person could come, even with vegetables or provisions, from the neighbouring ports ; that vessels under English colours, though separated from their convoy by stress of weather,

weather, had been seized and carried into Gheriah; that no Vakeel had been sent to Bombay with any explanation of these transactions; and that their connection with Futty Sing was too much involved and embarrassed to admit of an immediate eclaircissement. Thus each party, from an eager anxiety, perhaps, to shuffle, to overreach, or to procrastinate, excused themselves from a literal compliance with the requisitions of the treaty. A whole year was exhausted in a fruitless discussion of mutual altercations and complaints, when 1777 opened, and gave rise to a great variety of new and interesting scenes.

The political state of affairs, in other quarters of India, were more or less affected by these transactions, at this period. The discussion of many important and intricate questions, which then subsisted between the English and Marratto governments, was, no doubt, a curious and interesting object of attention and remark to all the different powers who occupy that great theatre of incessant hostility and intrigue. But it rarely happens, when any of the principal states are engaged in war, that the other Subahs or Rajahs of the least weight or consequence, from contiguity of property, family connection, or political interest, can wholly, or for any considerable length of time, preserve a strict neutrality.

The presidency of St. George betrayed strong apprehensions of hostile designs from Hyder Ally, in conjunction with the French, which were only allayed

allayed by the report of his preparations being chiefly destined against the Marrattos. Conscious of having trifled with the just requisitions of that prince, under emergencies of extreme necessity, it was not unnatural to regard his future motions with peculiar jealousy and suspicion. The return they had made to his confidence left them no room to place any in him. Ever since a short time after the peace he concluded with them, when the board withheld those succours which he thought himself entitled to expect, and which the exigencies of his affairs impelled him to demand, he made no scruple of avowing a stedfast antipathy to our interest. The misfortunes of that war, in which he lost his army, and a considerable part of his dominions, he has uniformly charged to our breach of engagement. Indeed, he had left no arguments unapplied, no measures unassayed, which could excite the English to assist him in repressing the formidable growth of the Marratto empire, at a time when, under the auspices of Madarow, it menaced the independence of every power on the continent of India. But the presidency of Madras seemed then equally indifferent to his interest and their own. Fortune had, however, interposed that relief, by the death of the young Marratto hero, who, by the philosophical virtues of prudence, moderation, and military conduct, had, before he reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, reduced even Hyder Ally nearly to his original insignificance. But that  
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that event, the subsequent discussions in the Durbar, and, most of all, the strenuous contest which had so long subsisted between the Poonah ministry and the English, gave Hyder time, by attending to the domestic regulation of his various dominions, to the improvement of his finances, and to the state of his army, to recover much of his former consequence. While our connection with Ragoba was yet in its infancy, he discovered no small degree of distrust and resentment against us, by warning that unfortunate prince against reposing too much confidence in his new allies, and seriously apprising him of what he must expect from our sinister and faithless conduct. He was then suspected of tampering with the ministerial party and Nizam, to the disadvantage of Ragoba and his allies. He nevertheless afterwards assisted that prince with money; and the reigning Peishwa not only threatened retaliation, but actually detached a considerable body of Marratto cavalry into the Mysore country, where they committed such ravages and devastation, as impelled Hyder to send the flower of his army, under his son Tippu Saib, to oppose their progress.

During the hostilities which subsisted between the Bombay presidency and the Poonah Marrattos, the Nabob of Arcot had been much solicited by the latter to assist, by his mediation, in procuring a peace with the former. They had, however, pending the embassy of Colonel Upton, refused their acquiescence with the articles proposed

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in his favour. They alledged, that the Rajah of Tanjore, a relation of the Ram Rajah, had been wantonly dispossessed of his country, and stripped of whatever was valuable or dear to him; and that it was impossible for them to treat upon any terms of concession with the Nabob, until after the restoration of the Marratto prince. This event had now taken place; and though the inclination of Mahommed Ally had not been much consulted in the business, his acquiescence, whether voluntary or not, rendered him so much less an object of resentment to the Poonah ministry. Indeed, his inveterate enmity to Hyder Ally reconciled him, in a great measure, to the Marrattos, who, before their late troubles, had been that hero's most formidable opponents. It will appear, in the progress of these transactions, that the Nabob of Arcot was, by this time, considered as of but little importance to the Company, as an ally; and therefore could be regarded by other powers as no very formidable enemy.

It has been the general policy of the Subah of the Deccan to watch the vicissitudes of fortune among the various belligerent powers in his neighbourhood; and to convert, by all the means in his power, every change or contingency to his own emolument. He had lately detached a large body of troops to join the ministerial army; but it was well known he did not wish them to be engaged in action, especially against the British forces. He was even forward in proposing a plan of hostile union



union against the very powers with whom he was apparently connected in the closest alliance.

So cautious, and perhaps equivocal, had the conduct of Moodajec Boonsla hitherto been, that, till the beginning of the year 1777, he was generally imagined to have been well disposed to the cause of Ragoba. He then, however, signified to the governor-general, in the course of their correspondence, his determination of sending Rajagee, his son, to visit the Peishwa, as a measure which their long friendship had rendered absolutely necessary. He stationed, however, a Vakeel at Calcutta, and otherwise cultivated the cordial friendship of the Company with much apparent sincerity and solicitude. But, if the insinuations of the Nizam were true, these professions were only intended to disguise his designs of suddenly urging his demand of chout, from the province of Bengal, at the head of a formidable army.

The politics of Sindia and Holkar had, in the course of these quarrels and intrigues, constantly veered with their interest. This was the great unerring standard by which all their public and private preferences and measures were uniformly regulated. Ragoba had often repeated his reliance upon their declarations in his favour; but he found himself at last the sport of their convenience and intrigue. They were now openly engaged in measures diametrically opposite to his interest. They appear, at the same time, to have proved  
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very troublesome and alarming neighbours to the Vizier and territories of Oude.

The circumstances of the young Vizier, who had lately succeeded to that important and conspicuous situation by the death of his father, Suja ul Dowlah, were critical and delicate. At the head of a powerful army, possessed of immense revenues, and invested with the government of an extensive and populous territory, he found himself, notwithstanding, the splendid slave of a few merchants. His pretensions to the Vizierat had met with some interruptions; but the interest of the Company in his favour left his competitors no chance of success. On this occasion, the situation and conduct of Shaw Allum was naturally marked with doubt and irresolution. Nor did he seem at last to act with cordial or sincere attachment, when he sent an ambassador, in the month of April [1776] to invest the Nabob ul Dowlah with the Kilaat. Accounts were soon after received at Calcutta of frequent alarms from the hostile appearance of troops on the frontiers of Corah. It was apprehended, that the king, the Marrattos, the Sicks, and the Rohillas, were confederated to invade the dominions of Oude. A defensive alliance with the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn was therefore propagated, and adopted as a measure which afforded the most probable security against the sudden incursions or deprivations of the enemy. This chief was then carrying on a kind of desultory warfare with various tribes of Marrattos and  
Jauts,

Jauts, who infested the vicinity of his and the Vizier's dominions. He was, at the same time, much distressed for money to pay his army. The confidence which the king had formerly reposed in him was sensibly diminished. Nor were the misfortunes of this degraded emperor in any degree abated. The embarrassments which he owed to the cabals of his court, and the incessant disappointments he suffered from abortive expectations of relief, visibly affected his conduct. The prospect before him was the more unpleasant that his tried friend, Nudjiff Cawn, however unable or unwilling, in the present situation of affairs, to assist him, was the only person, notwithstanding the preference given to his rivals, to whom his majesty could have any hopes of ultimately applying with success.

Such was the political posture of affairs in the continent of India, on the conclusion of the first, and the eve of the second Marratto war. But, though all the great powers had the address to feign a perfect acquiescence for the present in this apparent tranquillity, the fiend of discord was already at work, and a plot framing in the dark recesses of ambition, which, by treachery, temerity, and perseverance, was soon to involve the whole empire in one general and ruthless scene of carnage and desolation. Who, that has not an heart of stone, but must commiserate the hapless destiny of man, by which millions of innocent people are the daily victims of that caprice and cruelty

crusety which originate only with their leaders! Thus are the whole species doomed to suffer more serious and substantial misery by the foul intrigues of a few usurpers, than from all the other plagues and disasters that depopulate the world.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Intrigues of the Bombay Presidency—Origin and Commencement of the Second Murratto War—March of the Bengal Detachment through the interior Countries of India—Failure of the Bombay Expedition—General Goddard refuses to accede to the Treaty of Worgaum—The projected Negotiation with the Rajah of Berar abortive—New Alliances with Futty Sing and the Rannah of Ghod—A general Confederacy formed against the English—The Conquest of the Guzurat—Popham's brilliant Expedition in the Province of Ghod.*

**T**WO events had occurred before the latter end of 1777, which, by a series of rapid consequences, involved more or less, in general and promiscuous hostility, all the nations of Indostan. The power of the majority in the superior government of Bengal was annihilated by the death of Colonel Manson and General Clavering, and a commissioner from the court of Versailles had made his appearance at Poonah. The first of these contingencies had consigned, into the hands of the governor-general, that uncontrollable authority, which the ambiguity of the second tempted him to exert in reviving and carrying into effect a

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system, which now operated with the greater energy for having been so long suspended. A scene of indiscriminate animosity and slaughter soon followed the developement of those politics which this change of measures occasioned. No regard, at least in the first instance, was paid to contiguity of situation, to the merit or demerit of national character, to habits of ancient or familiar intercourse, or even to a similarity of customs, manners, laws, or religion. Europeans in almost every battle fought against Europeans! Hindoos, Mahommedans, and Christians, were every where alike objects of mutual and undistinguished massacre! Nor was it until the last stage of this awful conflict, that a general confederacy was formed for exterminating that party, who had thus foully embroiled the rest.

The Bombay council continued to entertain the most cordial detestation of the late treaty. It had quashed all those sanguine expectations of territorial acquisition, which filled their imaginations and prompted their ambition. Mr. Mostyn succeeded Colonel Upton as resident at the Durbar, and apprised the presidency that St. Lubin, the French agent, was arrived at Poonah, and received with every possible mark of respect. And though the ministers had repeatedly protested that nothing was intended against the Company's interest, very serious consequences were apprehended from his influence and intrigues, especially in the event of a French war. Proposals being at the same  
time

time suggested by some discontented chiefs in favour of Ragoba, the presidency entered into the scheme with alacrity. Their agents were forthwith empowered to commence a negotiation with the principal conspirators, and dispatches forwarded to the supreme council for their concurrence and support. The governor-general, no longer thwarted by an obstinate majority, not only embraced the measure, but determined to facilitate its execution by an immediate dispatch both of men and money. Previous to this intelligence, he had devised and brought forward a plan for improving the peace of Poorunder, in which the Marrattos were required to give Ragoba such security for his personal safety as he could rely on with confidence; to reimburse all those military charges which might be incurred on his behalf; to cede in perpetuity the fortress and island of Bassein, with several other specified grants and exchanges of land on the continent, to the Company; and to allow no European settlement in any part of their dominions, without the knowledge and consent of the supreme council.

The idea in which these arbitrary propositions seems to have originated was not well founded. It was evidently fabricated on false or imperfect information. And deception is perhaps the most favourable apology of which the failure will admit. But, from the moment that the presidency were possessed with the means of prosecuting the war effectually, their inclination for peace re-

turned, at the same time that the superior council urged and exemplified the most prompt and spirited exertions, New instructions were instantly transmitted to Bombay, that other and more peremptory requisitions might be made on the ruling party in the Poonah administration. These were intended to substantiate the conditions which had been formerly stated as the foundation of a new agreement, and a refusal to any one of them was to be construed into a formal and deliberate infraction of the peace. Such extraordinary demands announced in such arrogant terms, and accompanied with such menaces, would have been regarded and resented by all independent states as tantamount to a declaration of war. The presidency of Bombay were likewise allowed a discretionary power of entering into further articles with Ragoba, according to the exigence or expediency of the situation and views under which he might act. But it was very cautiously surmised, that, notwithstanding the favourable aspect which these arrangements bore to his affairs, objects much more substantial and extensive were ultimately in view.

It is not very easy to conceive by what other or more effectual measures the servants of the company could have forced the Marrattos to relinquish their pacific intentions. So strong was their aversion to a breach with the English, that they had absolutely given up the point of Ragoba's residence among them. They were satisfied to leave  
him



him under our protection, on condition that he should settle at Benares; at that time the most eligible, the most learned, and one of the most frequented cities in India, as he could not, thus remotely circumstanced, so, effectually disturb the harmony of government by his projects and intrigues. In that case they promised to endow him with an annuity for life of sixty thousand pounds:

It was now that the supreme council conceived the great design of marching a strong military detachment through the interior countries of this immense continent, as a demonstration to the potentates of India, that the harmony of the British settlements, however scattered or remote from each other, would on every emergency be adequate to the general safety. This measure was strenuously opposed, as obliging an army, with no inconsiderable train of artillery; to traverse countries hitherto unknown, to encounter difficulties of the nature, number and extent of which no estimate could be formed; to invade the territories of a power with whom we affected to be on terms of amity; to risque the resentment of many populous and hostile nations, who might take that opportunity of avenging their wrongs; to increase the jealousies already subsisting between the British and Marratto interests; and to heighten that envy and odium which our ambition, rapidity, and intrigues had already excited. These objections were however overruled, and the detachment, which, including five hundred

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Candahar horse, consisted of nearly seven thousand effective men, began to move in the neighbourhood of Corah and Allahabad, in the beginning of April, and arrived at the Marratto frontiers about the middle of May [1778]. They passed the Junna, which, on the north-eastern extremities, washes several countries tributary to the Marrattos, in boats, and under the fire of their artillery, as a body of the enemy's horse opposed them on the other side. These they instantly dispersed. The town and fort of Calpy were utterly abandoned on their approach. There they continued till the 3d of June, that memorable day, on which, by a fatiguing march through an extensive country, which exhibited only one invariable scene of naked concker as far as the eye could reach, without a tuft of verdure, or a drop of water, between three and four hundred men, overcome by thirst and fatigue, perished, raving mad! The army spent nearly three months in the diamond country of Bundelcund, and were exposed to the greatest danger by interfering with the family disputes which took place at that time among those who had pretensions to the Rajahship. In these contests, thus wantonly fomented, and no doubt interestedly protracted, the city of Mow was sacked with a barbarity, for which the loss sustained by the victors on that occasion was a just punishment.

Leslie, who had the command, died in the beginning of October, and was succeeded by Colonel Goddard. At this time the army was

considerably reduced, no less than a thousand sepoy's being in the hospital. They were now attended by an agent of Ragoba's, and in his name levied money, even while every idea of supporting him was officially and publicly disavowed in Calcutta. The detachment had been originally consigned to the management and direction of the Bombay presidency; but, under the construction of having received contradictory orders, ultimately conducted themselves by their own discretion. Indeed, one day their march had been countermanded in consequence of the difficulties to be encountered; and another, without assigning the reason, they were desired to proceed. Poonah, Bombay, and Surat, were also held out on separate occasions as the objects of their destination.

This management, however, was probably a part of the plan which the governor-general now brought forward in council. He proposed a treaty offensive and defensive with the Rajah of Berar, that this opulent and powerful prince should be supported in realizing his claims on the throne of the Ram Rajah, now vacant by his late decease without issue; and that the whole force of the Company should be exerted to effect his establishment, not only as head of the Marratto empire, but likewise in his pretensions to the Nizamut of the Deccan. Mr. Elliot was deputed to the court of Moodajee Boonsla, with full authority for accomplishing this important negociation. The cause of Ragoba was professedly abandoned. The presi-

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gency of Fort St. George was apprised of the project, and required to co-operate, by directing their politics to that event. And the detachment, on their march to Surat, was enjoined to regard whatever orders they might receive from the Company's Vakeel at the Durbar of Berar, with the most sacred and implicit attention.

These arrangements, however, were not effected without long and strenuous opposition. The absurdity, the impolicy, the extravagance and impracticability of the measure, were exposed and criminated in terms of unequivocal asperity and censure. It was arraigned as inconsistent with the Company's orders, who had enjoined the fullest conformity to the treaty of Poonah, and tending to a prodigal waste of their treasure, at a time when their affairs, both at home and abroad, demanded the most rigid œconomy in every branch of expenditure. It likewise involved a variety of inauspicious circumstances. It was opened in a crisis when the mother country was under the immediate pressure of a war with her colonies, and one of the most formidable confederacies that ever embroiled the powers of Europe; when the presidency of Bombay was in no situation to defend its own territories; when the council of Fort St. George had insulted both Hyder Ally and the Nizam beyond a possibility of forgiveness; and even when the news of a French war was expected every moment. Its progress and operations were calculated to convulse the whole continent of  
India,

India, and to rouse and ~~unite~~ the indignation of all the various and opposite powers in that extensive country. It treated the Nizam of the Deccan, the ancient friend and ally of the Company, with a treachery which he would not fail to revenge, by exerting the whole influence of his immense riches and power in forming such a combination against an ambition, thus boundless and insatiable, as might shake the British interest to its basis. These arguments were resisted, chiefly by the advantages which were expected from the scheme, and the facility of accomplishing it; the disappointment it would give to the French views and intrigues at the Durbar; the mortification which the Poonah ministry would experience from a revolution, by which they must be divested of all the authority they had usurped; the inviolable friendship of the Berar Rajah, whose dominions would be as strong a barrier to Bengal on the one side, as those of Oude were on the other. The council, which then consisted only of four members, were equally divided in their opinions of the question, when the governor-general, boldly arrogating the responsibility of the whole measure to himself, carried it in the affirmative by his casting vote.

The Poonah ministry, irritated by the refractory spirit which distinguished the mode of realizing the late engagements of the Company, made no secret of their resentment. The gentlemen of Bombay instantly declared the treaty of Poorunder violated,

violated, and no longer binding. They resolved at the same time to accept the offers of such chiefs as were in the interest of Ragoba, and with all possible expedition to send him to Poonah at the head of an army. The detachment from Bengal were also ordered to direct their march for the Marratto capital, instead of the route through the Guzurat to Broach or Surat. These advices were received at Calcutta about the middle of August; and though, in all important respects, diametrically opposite to the policy so recently adopted in council, met with full approbation. The negotiation at the court of Berar was occasionally interrupted by the death of Mr. Elliot, on his way to Nagpour, the capital of that kingdom. It was, however, soon revived, and Colonel Goddard empowered to carry it on and bring it to an issue. He was therefore directed by the supreme council, without paying any regard to what orders might be received from Bombay, to reach the banks of the Nerbudda, which washes the Northern frontier of Berar. Indeed the presidency of Bombay, unwilling that Goddard should partake of the glory which they promised themselves from the success of their arms, seem to have plunged into a state of the most violent hostilities at random. They would not wait the approach of the detachment. Their information was essentially defective. They knew not either their allies or their enemies so perfectly or effectually, as to justify any active measures.

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They expected the junction of the twenty thousand horse from the abettors of Ragoba. And the expedition commenced under a variety of other circumstances so very unfavourable as proved ominous of the event.

Captain Stuart succeeded in taking possession of the Bourghaut, a pass through the mountains which lead directly to Poonah. He continued in this critical situation a full month, probably in hopes of being joined by the friends of Ragoba. Not a Marratto, however, of any consequence appeared. The army from Bombay amounted to about four thousand effective men; seven hundred of these were said to be Europeans. They were supported by a fine train of artillery. Two regiments of sepoys and six hundred horse were commanded in a separate division by Ragoba. A prodigious quantity of baggage, carriages, cattle, provisions, and luxuries of all kinds, followed this little army. It was commanded by Colonel Egerton, who acted, however, under the control of a select superintending committee, an institution which, though utterly incompatible with the spirit and promptitude of the service, has uniformly disgraced our military transactions in India.

It was on the 1st of January [1779], when the Marrattos instantly appeared in prodigious swarms on all sides, that they found every inch of the ground would be vigorously disputed. The enemy hung every step we took on our rear, and our troops were obliged to proceed in the face of a  
severe

severe cannonade; at the same time they were incessantly galled by a prodigious discharge of rockets. The Marrattos carefully avoided every movement which led to a close or a general engagement. Their object was evidently to harass, to fatigue, and to gradually exhaust and diminish the Bombay army with as little risk to themselves as possible. Colonel Cay and Captain Stuart, two respectable officers, were both killed during this desultory mode of fighting; the one on the first, the other on the fourth day of the march. These desperate onsets were continued with little interruption, and more or less success every day, from nine in the morning till three in the afternoon. A scene of merciless devastation every where marked the progress of our army. The cottages of the poor, and the villas of the great, were, at their approach, levelled in undistinguished ruin. The many elegant seats in the splendid village of Tullicannan could not protect it from the indiscriminate desolation which spread around. The want of taste in its barbarous destroyers was soon and amply revenged. They were already so completely invested, that they could have no supply, as their intercourse with the country was every where effectually intercepted. The enemy had increased to above sixty thousand horse. Stung by the fight of Tullicannan, reduced to a heap of smoking rubbish, they assailed our troops with a bravery, a fierceness, and a conduct which considerably damped our confidence. In a well-fought skirmish,



skirmish, which took place on this occasion, the enemy's loss was not much superior to ours. A retreat was now (January 11th) determined on, as our last resource. Not a single parizan had yet joined Ragoba; and the enemy were determined to have burnt Poonah in the event of our army having forced their way to that capital. It is said, this faithless ally of the Company meditated an instance of the most horrid perfidy on this occasion. And who could expect less than the blackest treachery from the murderer of his nephew? It is not improbable that some of the army's movements originated in Colonel Cockburne's apprehensions of Ragoba's machinations. By day-break on the 12th, the whole army was surrounded and furiously assaulted on all sides. The conflict, in various shapes, continued for near fifteen hours, without intermission, and only ceased at last through excessive weariness and want of strength. The cannonade, on both sides, was fierce and tremendous. The valour, the exertion, and evolutions of our forces were incredible. The horse of the Marrattos returned to the charge with an intrepidity and impetuosity which our grape-shot, well-timed and well-pointed, only could repel. Nothing could appear more formidable than the velocity and fierceness with which they repeatedly attacked our lines sword in hand. Captain Hartly's situation in this engagement was peculiarly critical. The division he commanded, encouraged by the spirit and conduct of an officer whom

whom they loved, by keeping up a constant and well-directed fire, probably saved the army from being cut to pieces. The loss, on the side of the Marrattos, was prodigious. Of Europeans and sepoy's in the British army, near a thousand were left dead on the spot. All night the enemy surrounded the camp, and on the morning only preserved a kind of distant cannonade. It was now impossible we could either retreat or proceed. Our escape, on every quarter, was absolutely impracticable. A flag of truce was, therefore, our only hope of safety. It was no sooner hoisted, than all hostilities were, for the present, at an end. A convention took place. And the Marrattos gave an illustrious instance of their humanity and moderation, by the terms they imposed on the vanquished. They insisted on the English giving up Ragoba, and all their late conquest on that side of India; that the former treaty with Balajee Row should supply the place of the late one at Poorunder, and be firmly and inviolably maintained by both parties; and that the Bengal detachment should return. The committee, however, declared their incompetence to bind, by any deed of their's, the supreme council, in disposing of their forces. These conditions were agreed to by both parties; and Mr. Holmes, commissary of the army, and Mr. Farmer, secretary to the committee, remained as hostages with the Marrattos. The treaty was immediately transcribed in the English, the Persian, and the Marratto languages, and

and signed by the seals of the contracting powers. The moment this was completed, our army, whose provisions were utterly exhausted, were liberally supplied by these humane conquerors. A body of their horse then conducted them to the coast, and saw them embark in the vessels which carried them back to Bombay.

Moodajee Boonsla, the Rajah of Berar, was anxious to compromise the dispute. His central situation between Poonah and Bengal, his close connection with the Marrattas, his amicable intercourse with the English, his friendship for both parties, this wary, pacific and moderate temper, qualified him for mediating a reconciliation. He applied himself, therefore, with much assiduity and zeal in explaining the views and conduct of each party alternately to the other, and in restraining the passions and animosities of both. He had the address to procure the dismissal of St. Labin from the court of Poonah, as his intrigues were held out to be the offensive cause of offence at Calcutta. He was not less vigilant with the English government, though less successful in dissuading them from a perseverance in marching their troops through the territories of princes with whom they were not in a state of friendship. He represented this wanton enterprize as producing universal disgust and alarm, as an audacious violation of all the rights of sovereignty or independence, and as instigating every prince, through whose dominions the detachment was destined

destined to march, to arm in his own defence, and repel the outrage. He stated the various hardships and inconveniencies to which they must be exposed; the unknown countries and wilds they were to pass; the difficulty of procuring provisions; the deceptions to which they were liable, from the improbability of obtaining faithful guides; and the numerous ambuscades which they could not but expect, from the determined hostilities which their temerity would every where provoke. His remonstrances were all in vain. He continued, notwithstanding, his good offices. Two of his principal officers were stationed on the banks of the Nerbudda, with ample supplies for the immediate relief of the army. He acquainted them with the machinations formed against them at Poonah; and, with a candour and generosity which our conduct but ill deserved, told them, after advancing so far, not only that it would be dangerous and impolitic to retreat, but even pointed out the nearest line of march for them to the Guzurat. He evidently had it in his power to have sacrificed the detachment without striking a blow, but he scorned to take the least advantage of their perilous situation. He even advanced them money upon bills from Calcutta, without which they could not have proceeded. Notwithstanding these good dispositions, he was too old and timid for effecting the revolution which the governor-general had meditated in his favour. Charmed as he might be with the intoxicating  
prospects

prospects of domination and grandeur which it disclosed, the project was implicated with scenes and crimes which filled him with horror. He discovers the state of his feelings with great address and elegance in the laborious and moral correspondence which the propositions occasioned. Goddard's army had arrived on the northern frontiers of Berar, under circumstances of peculiar fatigue and embarrassment. Their carriages were broken, their draught cattle worn down, and their magazines empty. At Hufnabad their wants were, however, instantly and abundantly supplied. From this place General Goddard opened his powers of treaty with the Berar Rajah. Nor was he wanting, either in address or industry. He was not permitted to advance into the interior parts of Berar. This restriction was ominous. The heart of the Hindoo revolted at purchasing an empire with the blood of the Bramins. He would conclude no alliance, or form any engagements that tended to molest or provoke either the Plethwa or the Subah of the Deccan. He was intimately connected with the former, by blood, and with the latter by treaty. And he spurned at every temptation which implied treachery to either. He declined the proposal, at the same time, with a delicacy peculiarly amiable and conciliating. The scheme appeared to him altogether monstrous and impracticable. But he reasoned against it only from the principles of fidelity and sound policy, the improbability of success, and self-preservation,

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while he obviously deemed it the abortive offspring of the grossest insolence, temerity and ignorance.

Goddard certainly owed his escape to the failure of the Bombay expedition. The most distant powers in the empire crowded with all the forces they could muster to the defence of the capital. So many, so deeply buried in woods and mountains, so long, so narrow, and so peculiarly inclosed, were the defiles which he had to pass, that a very inferior force might either have stopped his progress, or reduced him, by famine, to any terms. But the adventure to Poonah created such a diversion in his favour, as left him totally unmolested. The news of this event, however, operated differently at the court of Berar. It probably disgusted the Rajah, in proportion as it facilitated the movements of our army. Soon after his removal from Hufnabad, he was advised from the field committee, who attended the Bombay army, to proceed to Baroach or Surat, or otherwise to continue on the banks of the Nerbudda. The letter containing these advices had been dated before the final engagement with the Marrattos at Worgaum. But the moment this treaty was accomplished he received positive orders, from the same committee, to make good his return with as much expedition as possible for Bengal. In three days a resolution was taken of violating their engagements; and the general was then informed, that, upon mature recollection, they did not think themselves competent to issue the orders they had given. He continued

nued his march, notwithstanding the fluctuating nature of his intelligence. On the 5th of February he arrived in the vicinity of Booram-pore, the capital of Candish, a large populous and opulent place. Here he received dispatches from the council of Bombay, directing him to proceed immediately to Surat. A minister from the Poonah Durbar arrived, at the same time, in the British camp, with a copy of the convention at Worgaum; in which his return to Bengal was expressly stipulated. He denied that the committee who had signed that convention had any authority over him; and asserted, that he was directed to march to Bombay, for defeating the designs of the French against the Company's possessions in that quarter, and that he was not at liberty to acquiesce with the treaty at Worgaum. He gained Surat by the end of the month.

The presidency of Bombay were not slow in publicly disavowing the treaty of Worgaum, though ratified by two members of the select committee, armed with all the powers of government, and though the lives of the hostages might have been forfeited by their treachery. Even this check had not quashed that malignant spirit of intrigue, which still predominated in their councils, and warped their politics. A scheme was immediately suggested of making the same use of Moodajee Sindia, which they had done of Ragooba. It was by his interposition that our army at Worgaum had not been disarmed and detained

as hostages. His power, resources, influence and character, rendered him a much more eligible instrument of ambition than the flagitious Ragoba. He does not, however, appear to have been quite so tractable, as he seems to have taken no notice whatever, either of the overtures he received, or the advantages proffered to him by the revolution proposed.

The presidency of Bombay were still as sparing as ever in their communications to the supreme government. Intelligence of their defeat had arrived both from Madras and Poonah, long before it was officially announced at Calcutta, which did not happen till about the middle of March. It then occasioned much altercation. The supreme council upbraided the Bombay presidency with unseasonable caution and delay, when activity and expedition were required; with having, by unaccountable remissness, lost the only opportunity which promised the least success; and with unpardonable temerity, in attempting the enterprize at a time when a variety of circumstances occurred to render it abortive. To these accusations it was replied, that they had not been made acquainted with the negociations at the Durbar of Berar, till it was impossible to derive any advantage from that fact. The disavowal of the convention at Worgaum was however confirmed by the supreme council. But, on the appearance of some pacific dispositions, General Goddard was invested with authority to treat once more with



with the Marrattos. His instructions were founded on this principle, that the Marrattos ought to be satisfied with the possession of Ragoba, and that they had no right to further concessions in consequence of their late success. He was restricted from relinquishing any of the new conquests or accessions, and enjoined to insist against the admission in any manner of the French, or the most distant connection with that nation.

Notwithstanding the amicable aspect which both presidencies now assumed, it was at the same time determined to revive and urge the treaty with the court of Berar with redoubled earnestness and assiduity. Moodajee Boonssa was, however, inflexibly attached to the line of politics which he had prescribed for his own conduct. His steadiness baffled all the conciliating talents and address of which Goddard was so great a master. By no artifice or argument was that cautious and intelligent prince to be tempted from the principles of a sound and moderate policy. General professions of friendship and good-will were all that could be obtained. But he continued as anxious and indefatigable as ever, to prevent any new rupture between his countrymen and the company. He even offered to become both the mediator and guarantee, and promised to settle effectually the differences, and to remove whatever jealousies or prejudices might still subsist on both sides. But these demonstrations of friendship were treated so lightly, or with such a manifest want of confidence,

dence, by the supreme council, that preparations for war on our part were carried on, in every quarter of the Company's possessions, with the greatest publicity and expedition. The first brigade, who had been stationed on the banks of the Jumna, in expectation of that event, was now supplied with all manner of military stores and equipage, that on the shortest notice they might be in a capacity to carry the scene of war into the enemy's country. Other divisions of troops, in the most advanced situations, were likewise under orders to be in constant readiness for similar service.

General Goddard seems to have adopted the warlike propensities of the presidency, with all the characteristic warmth and eagerness of the profession. And the statement which he transmitted to Calcutta, of the politics in the western divisions of India, was peculiarly calculated to flatter those most popular and fashionable in Bengal. He took occasion, as soon as possible, to acquaint the Poonah government with his powers and instructions for bringing matters to an amicable accommodation. But, before the Peshwa could make any reply, Ragoba had effected his escape from the custody of Sindia, having fled so early in the beginning of June, and taken refuge in the English camp. The Bombay presidency were rather shy of interfering further in the fortunes of that renegade prince. And, while a scheme of reconciliation was adjusting, they shifted  
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## TRANSACTIONS IN INDIA.

the responsibility to Goddard, though Ragoba could not conceal how much he preferred a renewal of his connection with them to a dependence on the supreme council. Previous to this event, the Peshwa, and Moodajee Sindia, had informed the Bombay council of their resolution to retaliate the injuries received from Hyder Ally, and on that account intimated the sincerest solicitude of coming to a final agreement with the servants of the Company. The asylum which Ragoba found in our camp, in the mean while, corresponded with the wishes of the supreme council, who encouraged him to expect their protection. His politics were, however, no longer eligible, and he was considered only as capable of assisting our army in effecting war or peace with advantage. His monthly allowance was greatly reduced; and he was given to understand, that our favour for the future would depend on the fidelity of his conduct, in not endeavouring by his intrigues or emissaries at Poonah to counteract the views of his benefactors. The Marratto government, notwithstanding his reception in the British camp, of which they had the earliest intelligence, delegated commissioners to open a treaty with the general. But these commissioners did not arrive till the middle of August, and were in no haste when they came to bring forward the business. Their powers were so limited, that it became necessary to dispatch messengers to Poonah on the most trivial difficul-

ties that arose, and the answers were returned with so little punctuality and expedition, that their pacific desires were, at least for the time, apparently abated.

It was about this period that the politics of the governor-general began to exhibit their natural effects on the numerous powers of India. A league was forming, which was to unite them in one general and formidable confederacy for the extinction of the Company. The principles of the English government, and the various events which every where attended their operation, had produced the most universal detestation and alarm, and ultimately excited such a serious apprehension of common danger from their intrigues and exploits, as combined the most discordant interests and hostile nations, to defeat their ambitious purposes. They had dethroned potentates, and usurped their dominions. The Subah of Bengal, the Vizier of Oude, and the Nabob of the Carnatic, were reduced to a state of splendid thralldom, the contemptible instruments of British rapacity, and the miserable trophies of an ambition which threatened the dependence of every prince in the empire. The ruin of the Rohillas was an awful and instructive picture of what each of them might expect in their turn. Their dereliction of the emperor, perfidiously stripping him of his tribute and the cession of his dominions, so incongruous with the faith or law of nations to a creature of their own, were so many strong proofs

proofs that their engagements were considered only as measures of expediency; and that they acted from no settled principles, but those of treachery and usurpation. These ideas were revived and corroborated by our very extraordinary mode of renewing hostilities with the Marrattos. The excess to which we had carried our outrages against these powerful states heightened every sense of past or more distant grievances, and rivetted that general odium which the prevailing complexion of our government had so constantly created and accumulated. A system thus natural and inveterate gathered strength from contingency, and was at last matured and rendered operative by the march of an army through the heart of the country; the utter expulsion of the French; and that violent propensity for war, which still raged in the councils of Calcutta.

This great scheme of general exertion originated with the Nizam of the Deccan, though it does not appear that he had received any intelligence of the sacrifice which it was intended to have made of him in the Berar treaty. Indeed, there wanted not enough of causes, independent of this circumstance, to stimulate him in projecting and effecting an union so necessary to the common safety. He was not without his share of apprehension from the power which menaced the whole; his connection with the Poonah administration was intimate and inviolable; he regarded Ragoba as *an invincible villain, utterly incapable of faith*; he thought

thought the Bombay expedition to Poonah such a flagrant violation of treaty, that he imputed the destruction of their army to the immediate interference of Heaven, by which the unjust are often destined to fall in their own snares. These facts, and the animadversions they suggested, he had avowed so explicitly, that Moodajee Boonsla had early apprised the governor-general "that the Nabob Nizam, and others also, who were all alarmed at the encroachments of the English in the Deccan, were waiting a favourable opportunity to repel them." The Marrattos were, by this time, in a situation of peculiar embarrassment, being under the necessity of either coming to a final adjustment with the English, on their own terms, that they might be avenged of Hyder; or of accommodating matters with the latter, that they might be able to exert their whole strength in repelling the insults of the former. Hyder made the first advances, by offering a large sum of money for reimbursing their expences in the late war; a considerable tribute for the conquered countries; and his whole force to assist them against the common enemy. Their predilection, however, for an accommodation with the English, defeated, for the time, the success of these overtures, when the escape of Ragoba, in connection with various other circumstances, completely reversed the face of affairs. By the Nizam's address peace was immediately concluded between the Marrattos and Hyder Ally; and the systematic confederacy

federacy against the English accomplished. The plan of this important league directed that Hyder and the Nizam should attack the Carnatic and the northern Circars; that the forces of the Marhattos should be employed on the side of Surat and the Guzurat; and that the Rajah of Berar should invade the provinces of Bengal. Nudjiff Cawn, and other chiefs on the western extremities of India, were also invited to act their part in this great effort, and to make the confusion and danger general, by carrying fire and sword into Oude, Allahabad, and other provinces in that quarter. Moodajee Boonsla is the only one who seems to have become a partisan to the cause with reluctance; and who acted a part against his inclination, that he might save his territories from the depredations of his neighbours. The enterprize intrusted to his execution was not undertaken with any degree of promptitude. His army did not reach the frontiers of Bengal until the approach of the rainy season, which, however disposed for action, must have suspended its operations for several months. Nor did the expedition, however formidable in appearance, answer any other purpose ultimately, than that it afforded the supreme council an opportunity of returning the kindness shewn to the Bengal detachment on the banks of the Nerbudda, by furnishing them such a seasonable supply of provision as prevented them from starving.

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All prospects of accommodation with the Poonah ministry were now at an end. The Marratto agent in the British camp, by the decision which the general thought necessary at length to assume, was induced to declare, in his master's name, that he would accede to no overtures made by the English, nor conclude a treaty with us on any other terms than an immediate surrender of Ragoba, and the restoration of all our late captures on that side of India. This was a crisis of the utmost importance to the whole complicated system of the Company's concerns. Our preparations for action were every where prosecuted with additional energy and expedition. Bombay stipulated with Goddard for a share of the conquest, and supplied him with all the troops not indispensably necessary to their own defence. They declined, at the same time, partaking in the responsibility of the war, and declared their utter incapacity to defray any part of the expence. The government of Fort St. George, notwithstanding their abhorrence of a measure so pregnant, as they presumed, with imminent and inevitable destruction, were obliged, on the same account, to part with a large portion of that force, the want of which they were soon to experience. The superior council concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Ranna of Ghod, whose territories, from their nature and situation, consisting partly of impenetrable woods, and partly of inaccessible mountains, and lying on the western banks of the Jumna, formed no inconsiderable barrier



barrier against any ~~intrusions~~ intrusions of the enemy from that quarter. We had this substantial advantage in the outset, that they had neither union among themselves, nor money to strengthen, inspire, and expedite their exertions; while our most important enterprizes had nothing to fear, as yet, from any material defect in our pecuniary resources.

That division of the Guzurat which lies towards the Indus was held by the Marratto family of the Guicawar. In the former war, the title to the succession being contested, the claims of Futty Sing Guicawar were espoused, and carried into effect by our interference. On that occasion the Company had obtained very considerable accessions of territory. The right, to some of these at least, was subsequently maintained in the Poonah treaty, and became the principal article in reference to future inquiry, which was then left undecided. The Nabob afterwards asserted, that this grant was the effect of extortion, while he had not the liberty of acting as a free agent; and that, in fact, without the concurrence of the Poonah government, he had no right to make it. The cooperation of this chief was now become a desirable object; and very advantageous offers were held out to him in a proposed treaty of alliance. He appears, however, extremely backward to enter into any new connection with the English. Our troops passed the Tappee the second day of 1780. It was their approach which, in all probability, brought him to acquiesce in our measures. The  
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fortress of a petty territory belonging to the Peishwa, which lay in the direct road to the capital of Bradera, where the Nabob resided, was the ostensible object of this movement. Dubhoy, with its district, was soon reduced; but Futty Sing still kept his distance. Nor was it without considerable management that he was induced, by the end of the month, to put his signature to a treaty for dividing the Guzurat between the parties, and a perpetual exclusion of the Poonah government.

It was not till the 15th of February that Goddard, reinforced by the Nabob's cavalry, invested the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of the province. In five days it was taken by storm. The whole surrounding country fell at the same time. The Nabob, being raised to the government by the general, was liberal enough in passing grants, to his masters, of those districts which they kept in their own hands. The general was anxious to delay a final partition of the capture, until the more important ends of the war should be obtained. But the gentlemen of Bombay, dissatisfied with the division which had been made, advised the superior council, from their own knowledge of Futty Sing, not hastily to ratify the treaty, without at least reserving to themselves the right of insisting on a subsequent adjustment.

A powerful army, under Sindia and Holkar, had now taken the field, and seemed directing their march for Surat. They were, however, intercepted

tercepted by General Goddard, who came up with them on the 8th of March, and was prevented attacking them in the night, as he intended, by a letter from Mr. Farmer, one of the gentlemen left as an hostage at Worgaum, and now in the enemy's camp. This informed him, that these two politic chiefs were only solicitous of obtaining his friendship. On the following day both hostages were enlarged, and presented themselves before their countryman. A confidential agent accompanied them, at the same time, from Sindia, who assured the general of his master's hatred to Nana Furnese, the present Marratto regent; and desired an explanation of what was meant with regard to Sindia and the Peishwa separately. He likewise pressed the general to make proposals for such an agreement as might equally facilitate the views of both parties. This, however, the general declined, and expected information from Sindia, who best knew how such a revolution was to be effected as might most effectually repay the trouble and expence it would infallibly occasion. It is generally conjectured, that Sindia's only view, by this manœuvre, was to obtain the possession of Ragoba and his son, and by that means to aggrandize himself in the state, without any reference to our advantage. His proposition certainly went to that object. But his Vakeel, on delivering it, was immediately dismissed, with an assurance that the English would, by no means, be induced to put any restraint upon Ragoba, nor risk the safety  
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of his son; and, though sincerely disposed to a fair accomodation, they would not raise his master to the government, without some previous condition in their favour. Sindia was, at the same time, carrying on a secret correspondence with Govindrow, a refractory brother of Futty Sing, whom he not only promised to assist, but had received him into his camp. This, with some other inexplicable instances in the conduct of Sindia, prompted the general to use all his endeavours to bring on an action between the two armies. But the wary Marratto was so much on his guard, that a surprize was impracticable. And it was not till Goddard, leaving every thing behind, pushed rapidly forward with the cavalry grenadiers, and the most alert in the army, that he compelled the Marrattos to stand an engagement. Having passed their principal guards with dexterity, he fell in without hesitation upon their camp. The rapid discharge of the artillery did prodigious execution among the Marratto horse, and the various attacks and evolutions were effected with so much spirit, and directed with such ability, that the enemy were driven from their post and completely routed in less than an hour. The British officers, stung by the recollection of their late defeat, were anxious to wipe away that disgrace, and retrieve the honour they had then lost. The very sepoys, though fighting against their own countrymen, were even proud to be once more found on the vanquishing side.

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It was shortly after this, that Captain Campbell, returning from a foraging expedition, at some distance, with only two battalions of sepoys, four field pieces, and a large convoy of provisions, was intercepted by Sindia, at the head of twenty thousand men. It is not improbable that Campbell had a choice of ground, adapted to the nature and number of his petty force. In truth, it is otherwise incredible that he should have defended himself against such an army with success. He, notwithstanding, repulsed the enemy with the loss of five or six hundred men, and carried away his convoy unimpaired. In this action, it is said, the fire of the flank companies did eminent and conspicuous execution among the enemy's cavalry; a circumstance which, it has been shrewdly enough remarked, might in a great measure have arisen from some peculiarity in the position of our troops. Lieutenant Walsh experienced also similar success against an obvious disparity of numbers. Detached, with a battalion of sepoys and a regiment of cavalry, to surprise a camp of six thousand Marrattos, and finding the infantry could not reach them before day, that the design might not be frustrated, he determined to make his attack with the horse only. The enterprize was hazardous, but conducted with bravery and skill. The enemy was routed [May 3d] with great slaughter. Their own cannon were occupied against them with such adroitness and resolution, that many of those who escaped were utterly at

a loss how to account for so sudden a disaster. The commander, with a great number of officers and men, were left dead upon the spot; and the camp, with all it contained, fell into the hands of the English.

Soon after Major Forbes, with only two battalions of sepoy, surpris'd and put to flight a body of seven thousand Marrattos. The season, however, approach'd when both armies were oblig'd to repair to winter quarters, that they might avoid the pernicious effects of the rainy months. In every action with the enemy, and in spite of every advantage which numbers could bestow, our troops were uniformly victorious and triumphant. Indeed, nothing could reflect greater credit on the general, the officers, and even the privates at large, nor establish a more operative conviction of our superior prowess in the field, than the constant success which attend'd all our exertions during this campaign.

Nor were the achievements of the Company's troops less splendid and material on the frontiers of the Bengal provinces. Early precautions had been taken to guard against any incursion of the enemy on this side of the country. Ghod, as had been foreseen, in consequence of its recent connection with us, was instantly attacked by a powerful body of Marrattos. But Major Popham, with only a handful of men, soon cleared the country of these marauders; drove them before him through a considerable part of their own, and

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commanded such an accession of territory, as might have proved of importance, but that it could not be retained. The celebrated fortrefs of Gualier stood in the midst of this petty state. It was still in the possession of the Marrattos, and probably as great an eye-sore to the natives as Gibraltar, under the command of a British garrison, is to the Spaniards. The anxiety of Mr. Hastings for the reduction of this place was no secret to the major, whose own solicitude for distinction, in the line of his profession, powerfully excited the enterprize. The fortifications, which were of great strength, inclosed the summit of a prodigious high hill, encircled by rocks, and equally barricaded on every side by the most tremendous precipices. The ground which lay within the works was so extensive and so fertile as to be equal to the subsistence of any number of men which the defence of the garrison might require. The major, perhaps, formed any hopes of success which he might entertain, against a post which the princes of Indostan had always pronounced impregnable, on that confidence and security which are natural to such a situation. Some natives, from motives which do not appear, had discovered a secret passage, by which they scrambled up the rocks, and entered with safety in the night. The major, informed of this important circumstance, had the track minutely examined; and conceiving, from the report, a bare possibility of success, he boldly determined to risk all the

consequences of a failure. The attempt was attended with such imminent hazard and difficulty, as rendered the success which followed uncommonly brilliant. The consternation and surprise, occasioned by a capture thus rapid and unexpected, had an immediate and powerful operation on the enemy. They instantly retreated from the whole circumjacent country; and it is said the alarm even reached Sindia in his capital, Ougein, whither he had just retired from the Guzurat.

Suspending our attention to the Company's affairs in the northern and upper parts of India for the present, it may not be improper in this place to give some account of the transactions, which, at the same time, agitated the powers and threatened our interests on the coast of Coromandel.



## CHAPTER X.

*French War—Pondicherry taken—Affair of the Guntoor Circar and Peshcush—Hyder Ally invades the Carnatic—The Consequences of that Event—The Presidency and the Nabob equally unprepared—State of the Army—Sir Hector Monro takes the Field—Baillie's Situation—His Disaster—Sir Eyre Coote's Arrival—He beats the Enemy in four pitched Battles—The War with the Dutch—Expedition against their Settlements in Sumatra—The Fall of Negapatam on the Coromandel Coast, and of Trincomalee in the Island of Ceylon.*

**AUTHENTIC** intelligence of our late war with France was communicated to the governor-general of Bengal so early as July 1778; and his thorough conviction of this great and interesting fact produced an immediate and sensible influence on all the measures of the supreme council. The destination of Count d'Estaing's fleet, which was then unknown, was not unnaturally supposed to be some of our capital ports on the Indian shore. Report, which for the most part magnifies where it does not fabricate, gave weight to the conjecture. The Chevalier St. Lubin was still at the Durbar, and observed to be frequent in close conference with the Peishwa. The steps which the govern-

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ment of Calcutta took to repel the impending danger were, to bring their differences with the Mar-ratto states to a speedy decision; to take instant possession of all the French settlements in Bengal, and make a complete capture of all their ships in the river; and to recommend the siege of Pondicherry to the presidency of Fort St. George, as a measure which ought to be adopted without delay. The papers found on Mr. Chevalier, the governor of Chandernagore, who was apprehended making his escape at Cuttack, confirmed the news of hostilities having commenced between France and England in Europe; and consequently justified these preparatory arrangements for the same conflict in that part of the world.

The English had commenced hostilities against the French factories and settlements at Chandernagore, at Yaman, at Carical, at Masulipatam, and other places, the moment they were authorized to consider them as enemies with whom they were at war. Immediate deprivations were at the same time made on their trading vessels, both in the Ganges and on the coasts of Coromandel. It was not, however, till the beginning of August that the presidency of Madras were prepared for undertaking the reduction of Pondicherry. Sir Edward Vernon commanded the small British naval force at that time in the Indian seas. The squadron, with which he sailed against Pondicherry, consisted only of two frigates, a sloop of war, and the Valentine East-Indiaman. He soon encountered,

tered, in a very warm engagement, which lasted above two hours, a French fleet of superior force, under the command of M. de Tronjolly. The English admiral, who had manifestly the better in this fight, expected the enemy to have met him once more, and that he would have endeavoured at least to have kept the town from being invested by sea, as well as by land, found it ever after impossible to bring on a battle. After near a month's manœuvring to no purpose, the French fleet abandoned the coast, and left the British flag triumphant. Pondicherry was immediately and closely blockaded. The defence was spirited and indefatigable. M. de Bellecombe, governor of the town, and general commandante of the French settlements in India, gained immortal reputation by his gallantry and perseverance in this siege. The besiegers, however, soon gained a visible superiority, and continued to carry on their approaches with increasing dexterity and dispatch, though the daring and vigorous operations of the garrison rendered the utmost caution a matter of necessity, and, together with the violent rains which then frequently fell, considerably retarded their works. After a month's extreme labour, the place was deemed no longer tenable. On the day preceding that which had been fixed on for making the assault, the governor proposed a capitulation, which was readily granted, in a manner which gave ample and honourable testimony to the bravery of the enemy. Whatever

was proposed, that did not interfere with the public security, was liberally admitted. On this account alone the European part of the garrison were sent to France, and the sepoys, and other native troops in the country, disbanded. The honours of war were allowed, and, as a particular mark of attention to M. de Bellecombe, the regiment of Pondicherry, at his request, were permitted to keep their colours. Nearly three hundred pieces of artillery became the prize of the conquerors, who seized, at the same time, all public property, but secured whatever was private to the owners. Our loss amounted to two hundred and twenty-four slain, and above six hundred wounded. Of the enemy, little short of the same number were killed and wounded; a circumstance which abundantly demonstrates their zeal in the service of their country, and the obstinacy with which they maintained their ground to the last extremity.

These violences, on the part of the English, and the uniform success which attended them, co-operated, with a variety of other causes, to render the extension of our power an object of serious attention and concern, especially to the neighbouring princes. The fall of Pondicherry was at least immediately followed by the settlement of the Guntoor circar. It was an acquisition which the presidency of Madras had, for some time, been very anxious to obtain, as, from its situation, it must have enabled them to exclude the French nation  
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from the Deccan ; to keep open a communication by land with the four northern circars ; and to have preserved the continuity of their possessions, and those of their allies. Bazalet Jung, however, was in present possession of it, as a jaghire, for life, for which he was tributary to his brother, the Subah of the Deccan, and by whom he was bound not to dispose of it in any manner, or to any person, without his consent or approbation. This province, in the treaties by which the other four were conveyed and confirmed to the Company, was also ordained to become our's at the death of Bazalet Jung. We were, at the same time, restrained from all attempts by negotiation or bargain, excepting by the mediation of the Nizam, to obtain the Guntoor before the time allotted. These treaties further provided, that we should assist the Nizam with our forces, in all cases of war or invasion ; that we should operate as a check on the refractory disposition of Bazalet Jung, to the degree of dispossessing him of the jaghire the moment he entered on measures dangerous to his brother, or inconsistent with the tranquillity of his government ; and that any alliance with the enemies of the Company, or giving them any assistance, should render him liable to a forfeiture, not only of his possessions, but of all protection, either from us or his brother.

Notwithstanding these seemingly insuperable obstacles, so eagerly desirous had the presidency been to anticipate the proprietary of this valuable territory,

tory, that overtures had been frequently submitted to the Nizam on the subject. But this prudent sovereign adopted the wise policy of not granting too much, as he found the requisitions of the Company were endless. These direct applications to him were however such unequivocal acknowledgments of his sovereignty, as ought to have been an insuperable bar to their treating with any other. But time, accident, opportunity, and ambition, dissolved the obligations which had been formerly deemed binding. Bazalet had been frequently charged with entertaining a predilection for the French. He was strongly suspected on this occasion to be solely directed by their influence. He had received a body of troops into his service, which, though composed of vagabonds from almost all the nations in Europe, were yet commanded by one Mr. Lally, a Frenchman. Strong and repeated remonstrances were made to him on this suspicious measure. His apology was not satisfactory. The friendship of the French was no longer adequate to his protection. The interest of the English predominated every where to such a degree, that it was madness to risk their resentment. Their intrigues were seconded by menaces. The approaches of Hyder Ally, who by this time had extended his conquests to the frontiers of the circar, completed the wishes of the presidency, by terrifying the timid Bazalet into compliance. He was at the same time perhaps disgusted by the licentiousness of his new auxiliaries. He had therefore, in the

the end of the year 1778, thought himself justified from the difficulties to which he was reduced, and the apprehensions he entertained for his safety, in applying to the English for protection and relief. He soon after entered into a treaty of friendship and alliance, and on our side of assistance and defence, with the council of Fort St. George. By this agreement, which took place without the knowledge or intervention of the Nizam, he dismissed the French troops, and surrendered the Guntoor circar into the hands of the Company.

It was proposed in council, that the gradual process of this important transaction should be transmitted to the Subah, and the completion of it suspended till his consent could be obtained, that some appearance of respect at least might be paid to the treaties subsisting between both parties. This temperate and equitable advice was however overruled by the majority. Thus did the Company's servants carry a compact, including new arrangements of connection, revenue, and territory, with a subject, without the participation or consent of his sovereign. Nor could the supreme government obtain any other information of this very extraordinary business, than that a negotiation for granting the Guntoor, upon certain conditions, to the Company, was carrying on with the fairest prospect of success. It was not so much as specified either with whom it was conducted, or by whom the grant was to be made. It was even concluded,  
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with every formality, full ten months before any official accounts of it reached Bengal.

The Guntoor circar was immediately farmed out, upon a lease of ten years, to the Nabob of Arcot, who has long acted as the great farmer-general of the Company in this part of India. Whatever emoluments may accrue to the servants, the profits of their masters, from this extension of the Nabob's credit, seem rather problematical. His debts have not only reduced them to the greatest difficulty, but opened such a field of intrigue for a number of unprincipled individuals, as have sullied the British name. Avarice seems the disease of his nature, and his reluctance to discharge his pecuniary obligations is strengthened with his years. The Nizam had always regarded his encroachments in the Deccan with jealousy. He knew the principles that inspired him. He saw him now under a very alarming aspect of public affairs; and the impression of various interesting transactions at once pushed forward into a situation, so near, so critical and so unexpected, that no moderation could prevent disputes, or vigilance guard against danger. It was expected to prove still more offensive to Hyder Ally, between whom and the Nabob there subsisted the most inveterate and implacable animosity. Nor did that prince long disguise his sentiments of a measure, which struck him as intended to obstruct his operations on the northern borders, to encourage disturbance in his new acquisitions,



quisitions, or to facilitate a concerted attack upon his interest in that unsettled quarter.

Bazaleet Jung soon became alarmed from the menaces he received, and the dangers which gathered round him. Not thinking the troops within reach of the Guntoors equal to his protection, he urged the presidency for an immediate and powerful reinforcement. A considerable detachment, under the command of Col. Harper, was forthwith sent on that service. He was at the same time, without leave obtained, or even requested, and perhaps without any real necessity, ordered to take his route through part of Hyder's dominions. But Hyder was too jealous and tenacious of his rights to permit the same liberties here which had been taken on the other side of India. Harper had no sooner entered the Cuddepah, than he announced to the officers of Hyder, on that station, the object and destination of his march. Their answer was, that he should be opposed, and the passes barricaded against him. He proceeded notwithstanding, but his temerity was soon checked. He found the trees cut down across the way at Atcour, other means of defence and obstruction adopted, and a large body of troops strongly posted to dispute his passage. Having no orders to commence hostilities, the dread of being inclosed by the enemy, and pressed for time, he gave up the design for the present, and fell back to Innacoonda, which he reached the 14th of April [1779], after spending a week to no purpose in Cuddepah.

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∴ Aware that the treaty for the Guntoor circar was not in all respects conformable to the spirit and tenor of engagements subsisting between the Nizam and the Company, it was determined immediately on the conclusion of that business to appoint a resident at the court of Hydrabad. Mr. Hollond was therefore preferred to that situation, and instructed to declare the determination of the presidency, to preserve inviolably the treaty of 1776, to shew that their late agreement with Bazalet Jung was no infringement of it, and that they had hitherto made all their applications to the Nizam, as answerable for the deportment of his brother, but that their apprehensions from the French troops had impelled them at last to open a negociation directly with Bazalet. He was to assure him at the same that the Peshcush, or tribute, for the northern circars, which had not for some time past been punctually discharged, was delayed only on that account.

The account of this appointment, transmitted to the superior government, states only, that the presidency of Fort St. George seriously dreaded the resentment of the Nizam, from his attachment to the Poonah ministry, his hatred to Ragoba, and our concern in the Marratto dissensions; that, as the northern circars were much exposed to invasion from the Deccan, and the Subah's friendship extremely doubtful, they deemed it highly expedient to have the best and earliest intelligence of his designs; and that for this purpose, and for settling

ting whatever related to the Guntoor circar, and the dismissal of the French troops, they had appointed Mr. Hollond their resident at the Nizam's Durbar, and instructed him to correspond with the supreme council on whatever deserved their attention in that quarter.

Our resident was received by the Nizam with every mark of respect. He stated a variety of instances, to prove with what fidelity he had uniformly maintained his engagements to the Company. He assumed the sole merit of having induced his brother to part with the French troops, whom he had taken into his own service, that they might not join either Hyder Ally or the Marrattos. But, when at a subsequent audience the affairs of the Guntoor province were opened, and he understood that a body of our troops had marched for the protection of the country against the designs of Hyder, in expectation that his own forces would join them for accomplishing that purpose, it is said that his countenance was at once exceedingly changed, and he laboured under the greatest and most visible anguish of mind. It appears as if he had resolved on revenge from this moment, and that in all his subsequent conferences with Hollond this insult was constantly uppermost in his mind; that he frequently urged the gross absurdity of affecting a friendship, notwithstanding a conduct thus glaringly hostile; that his feelings would by no means suffer him to brook such an interference with his family concerns; that the intentions imputed

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puted to Hyder Ally, of molesting his brother's country, had no existence but in our insidious policy; that the treaty required our troops to be immediately countermanded from entering the circars; or, if the treaty was not to be regarded, he would himself oppose them; and that Hyder Ally was about to chastise the presidency for their perfidy, by suddenly falling on the Carnatic in his former mode of overrunning the country, plundering and burning every thing before him, and cautiously avoiding fixed battles.

In consequence of Holland's favourable reception at Hydrabad, it was resolved in council to try if a remission of the tribute for the northern circars could not be obtained. These were held by a phirmaund or grant from the great Mogul, who still assumed the silly prerogative of giving away countries, into which he had not the privilege of entering. This, they presumed, established their free and unconditional right to the five circars, and their receiving them afterwards from the Nizam, on paying an annual tribute, was a surrender of the Company's property. These ideas were much laboured in a minute from the president, which was adopted. Holland was consequently instructed to mention no compromise, nor to stipulate for any part of the Peshcush, until all his exertions to prevail with the Nizam to relinquish the whole proved unsuccessful. In that case, he was to be satisfied with an abatement from five lacks, the present standard, to two; the rate at which

which the Company had held the arrears for the first six years.

It happened rather unfortunately for the success of this proposal that it was made when the payment of the arrear was expected, and while his resentments for the injuries done to his interest, in the affair of the Guntoor province, were still warmly avowed. He now conceived the presidency to be bent on war, and openly declared himself prepared to meet them. He threatened to join Hyder Ally, and desired that his opinion might be immediately communicated to the presidency, and a speedy answer returned, lest his troops advanced on Colonel Harper, in his way to the Guntoor. Hottelond, though regularly advised by the presidency to assure the Nizam that no threat was meant, but that whatever remission could be obtained should proceed entirely from his own bounty and friendship, was told, at the same time, to persist in urging the requisition, as having a solid foundation in equity, as what could not be given up, and as a measure with which the Nizam's compliance was expected. He was also authorized to add, that, though they meant to pay the whole arrears when convenient, they were not unprepared to retaliate whatever steps might be taken to embarrass or insult them. It was even insinuated, that the presidency hoped the forces under Lally would be dismissed, and directed to march towards the sea coast, that all the Europeans might without delay be sent to their respective

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countries, and that the natives should in like manner be disbanded.

Nothing could be more impolitic than the eagerness with which these invidious discussions were brought forward at present, and Hollond was informed, on the last day of August, that the Peshcush would be expected, and demanded as usual, or the payment of it enforced; that immediate war would follow the first refusal, and that he might have his audience of leave in two days. These declarations were succeeded by formal notice to prepare for his departure. The Nizam even talked publicly of taking the field whenever the rainy months were at an end. Happily, the supreme council totally condemned the offensive measures, which for some time had been thus going forward with the Subah. They dispatched a letter to that prince, as soon as they were made acquainted with his situation; in which, without arraigning the conduct of the Madras presidency, they endeavoured to soothe and allay his apprehensions, to satisfy him that no measures could be finally settled without their concurrence, and to conciliate his confidence, by assurances that they would suffer no infringement of the treaty between them. They told him, Hollond was directed to suspend his negotiation until he received further instructions from his immediate constituents, to whom they had written on the subject. They inclosed a copy of their letter to the Nizam in that which they directed to Madras. And, not fe-  
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verely condemning what had taken place, they only enjoined a strict compliance with the measures now recommended for the restoration of that mutual cordiality which had formerly distinguished their connection. The Nizam was on the eve of avenging himself for the wrongs done him by the Madras presidency, when this letter arrived, which he received with the greatest satisfaction: “ If  
 “ what you write,” said he, “ is from your heart,  
 “ and the government of Madras will adhere  
 “ strictly to treaty, and will relinquish the pos-  
 “ session of the treaty, it is well; if not, I have  
 “ nothing of greater consequence than defending  
 “ my country. It is from this new line of con-  
 “ duct of the English Company that the founda-  
 “ tions of enmity have been laid in the whole  
 “ country of Indostan.”

The council of Madras were exceedingly disgusted by this interference of the supreme government. They did not expect that their endeavours to relieve the Company from so heavy a burden should be charged to a wanton violation of faith. Their conduct to the Nizam had been blameable only for the extreme forbearance they had shewn him. They imputed his resentments to that temerity which so generally originates in a consciousness of impotence. They alledged, that whatever hostile intentions he might really indulge arose entirely from the Marratto war; and they boldly justified the detention of the tribute, by the example which the Bengal presidency had set them of

devesting the emperor of his. They even contended, that this was a question in which the superior board had no concern; and that the clause in the act of parliament, from which they derived their authority, could not be construed to justify their interference. They voted the recal and suspension of Hollond for obeying their instructions in corresponding with the supreme council in Calcutta, who, notwithstanding, continued his appointment as the Company's resident at the court of Hyderabad. This unhappy dispute was, after much altercation and warmth, brought to a conclusion, and satisfaction obtained for the Nizam, while the whole circumjacent country was in a state of actual invasion, by a suspension of Mr. Whitehill, who had succeeded Sir Thomas Rumbold in that government.

The failure of Harper's expedition, though owing to no misconduct on his part, brought him into disgrace with the presidency. By the spirited interference of Hyder, he had been obliged to wait for fresh orders. Nor did these arrive till he was in want both of money and provision, which prevented his march by the only way in which it ought at first, and could now be pursued. This delay disconcerted entirely the designs of the presidency. Willing to exculpate themselves at Harper's expence, they charged him with procrastination, and superseded him in the command, by appointing Colonel Baillie in his stead. The occasion of succouring the country of Bazalet  
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Jung was the more pressing, that Hyder Ally, in his letters to him, remonstrated strongly against his connection with the English, whose councils he treated with contempt, while he spoke of their politics as dangerous and profligate in the extreme. He professed to know them perfectly. They were, in his opinion, the common enemies of the country, perhaps of the species. His own experience and success in the last war would operate, he trusted, at the same time, as proofs that they were by no means so formidable, even in arms, as was vainly imagined by those who had not courage to face them. For these reasons he could not agree to putting the circar into the hands of those who had been his old and inveterate enemies. Nor was the Nizam less importunate with his brother in dissuading him from this ominous alliance. He asked, whether he knew the nature of those Europeans, who could never be induced to part with any thing they had once obtained. He pointed to Sujah Dowlah and his son, as examples of the danger and ruin which uniformly attends their friendship. And he threatened to punish his persistence in this impolitic connection, by joining his troops with Hyder's, and totally dispossessing him of all his territories.

The dilatory march of the Company's detachment gave Hyder a full opportunity of convincing both the presidency and their new ally how much he had been in earnest in the advice he had given. By one of those rapid movements for which his

military conduct has been so much distinguished, he suddenly entered the dominions of Bazalet, and, ravaging all the open country, confined him within the walls of his capital, Adoni. Thus circumstanced, he represented at Madras the absolute impossibility of now fulfilling his engagements. He therefore requested that they would withdraw their troops and civil officers from his territories, as their continuance might expose him and the whole province to still greater severities.

Differences subsisting between the presidency and Hyder Ally, which had been more or less widening ever since that disgraceful moment in which he had forced their signature to a treaty of peace and close alliance at the gates of Madras, had lately been attended with so many irritating circumstances on both sides, that sincere accommodation, however desirable, was no longer to be expected. He had, indeed, solicited our friendship with an assiduity which can only be justified by the conviction which he entertained of its utility. And every principle of just policy pointed him out as the natural ally of the Company. But their servants, by a series of ill usage; by fulfilling no promise they had given; by a breach of every treaty they had made; and by returning his kindest offices with ingratitude; converted him into one of their bitterest and most determined enemies. He was by far the most powerful neighbour they had on the coast of Coromandel. He possessed those hilly countries which bound and barricade the  
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the western extremities of the Carnatic. His influence, from wealth, dominion, and military force, among the Nairs, Nabobs, and princes, in these parts, might, especially in times of war, have been rendered of the most essential consequence to our interest. But the politics of the presidency had been warped, for years, with the prejudices of Mahommed Ally, who, animated by an invincible hatred to the person and fortunes of Hyder, employed all his artifice and intrigues to foment the difference between him and the English. This is the only probable account that has yet been given of the treatment which that great man experienced from the council of Madras. The Nabob urged them, with all his address, to join the Marrattos in putting a stop to the progress of Hyder's conquests, and, by a well-concerted plan of co-operation, to crush his rising grandeur. They might think it prudent to soften the absolute rejection of his system, by an unqualified acquiescence in the resentments that produced it. And perhaps it was not easy, under such circumstances, to preserve the esteem of their ally, without assuming a coolness to a power for whom he professed so radical a dislike.

Our expedition to Mahie, a fort situated on the Malabar coast, in the vicinity of Hyder's dominions, was, by the predilection which it discovered him to have for the French, the occasion of his shewing an unequivocal antipathy to the presidency of Madras. This port belonged to one of Hyder's

tributary princes; and he considered it as within the line of that protection which he extended to all his territories. It was for this reason, and on this principle, that he remonstrated against the expedition. Here many Europeans, of all nations, had established factories, or were individually settled for the purposes of carrying on a mutual commercial intercourse with the inhabitants of his dominions, and to the reciprocal advantage of their respective countries, both in India and Europe. While these adventurers acted the part of good subjects, he thought it his duty, as well as interest, to defend them against every power who should dare to interrupt their tranquillity. He disavowed taking any share or concern in the private quarrels which might agitate the different nations in Europe; but it was his serious determination to consider the hostilities against Mahie as principally aimed at him; and that he should of course retaliate and revenge them to the utmost of his power. His Vakeel at Madras was authorized to denounce, in the most explicit terms, an irruption into the Carnatic, unless this mad project was laid aside.

The strength of the French, however, and their intrigues in this place, was an object of very serious attention to the welfare of the Company. It was consequently resolved to prosecute the enterprise at all hazards. The detachment was commanded by Colonel Braithwaite, whose rapid exertions and success in reducing the fort defeated the intention of Hyder, who wished to have preserved

served it, and who ever after considered the measure as a personal insult which he was obliged in honour to retaliate.

The Nabob of Arcot, who apprehended the most serious consequences from the resentments of Hyder Ally, was incessant in apprising the council of the impending danger. He pointed out such a disposition of the forces as might best answer the exigencies of the service. The suddenness, or unexpected celerity, with which the enemy would accomplish his intention; the consternation and distraction incident to an invasion; the general molestation which the rapidity of the cavalry would occasion; were circumstances which must impede the collection of troops scattered in remote situations. Draught bullocks for the artillery, and coolies, or porters, for assisting in the conveyance both of baggage and provisions, in such a moment of trepidation, it would be almost impossible to procure. He assured them, at the same time, that he had neither treasure nor troops in which he could place any substantial dependence. The well-known aversion of the Nabob to Hyder Ally rendered his intelligence suspicious, and defeated the natural effect of this wholesome advice. He was the first, however, to announce the peace which took place between Hyder and the Marattos; an event soon after but too fatally confirmed, and which ought to have been considered as the certain signal of the dreadful calamities which followed. But, though by this time hardly  
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an individual in the settlement doubted the reality of the enemy's designs and preparations against it, still no measures were adopted for averting the consequences. They trusted such an accommodation might be effected by the superior government, in other quarters of India, as would baffle, or suspend at least, the operations against the Carnatic. These, however, were every where carried on with vigour, and without disguise, for the avowed purpose of distressing the presidency, who, notwithstanding, persevered in as much inattention and torpid negligence as if no symptoms of hostility had appeared.

The Nabob, at the moment when his existence was threatened with inevitable destruction, was in debt to all the world, to the Company, to his army, and to individuals. It had been long his plan to borrow from all who would lend, and never to pay. Every article of his expenditure was loaded, and in arrears. His places of strength were ill garrisoned, without stores, ammunition, or provisions. His troops, destitute of necessaries, were altogether without discipline, and in the habit of mutiny and desertion. His cavalry were seen to desert, at noon-day, by whole regiments, with their horses and arms. He owed the recovery of his best regiment from such a situation to the generosity of a British officer, who, to satisfy their demands, and reconcile them to the service, advanced his whole private fortune. Even this sum, thus seasonably lent, was not repaid till the gentleman

man was in the utmost distress; and then only by the government of Madras on the Nabob's account.

The presidency indeed were in possession of a gallant and well-disciplined army of about thirty thousand men. Lord Macleod had recently reinforced them by a new-raised regiment of a thousand men from England. But this force was dispersed into various detachments, on services at the greatest distance. A selection of the best troops on the establishment were dispatched to the assistance of Goddard in the Guzurat. Others were stationed in garrisons on the Malabar coast, and Colonel Baillie commanded no inconsiderable force in the Guntoor circar. In the Carnatic there was none of any consideration collected. They were scattered in quarters and garrisons. The treasury was without money, and the military magazine without an adequate store of either ammunition or provision. Much of this deficiency was attributed to the Nabob, who, in proportion as he predicted the approach of danger, had been urged though without effect to provide against the worst. His army had formerly amounted to nearly thirty-five thousand effective men, a number who, joined to the Company's, would have now sufficiently protected the Carnatic. But their total want of order and subordination had lately rendered their number of no consequence. It would at the same time have greatly altered the posture of affairs for the better, had his forts and garrisons been in a proper

proper state of defence, his troops but tolerably disciplined, and his large arrears to the Company considerably lessened. They might then have acted with vigour and effect in his support, as well as their own. And though the frequent intelligence they received had not roused them to such a degree of activity and exertion, as the exigencies of the present crisis seemed to demand, it afforded constant occasion of remonstrating with the Nabob on the ruinous state of his army and finance.

Our want of conduct and foresight only stimulated the genius of the enemy, who, availing himself of our insensibility, was anxious, in his sanguinary paroxysm, to seize upon the victim of his fury by surprise. The following account of this awful event is given by a writer, whose masterly powers of natural description, have no equal in modern times. Hyder Ally “ resolved, in the gloomy  
 “ recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to  
 “ leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monu-  
 “ ent of vengeance, and to put perpetual desola-  
 “ tion as a barrier between him and those against  
 “ whom the faith, which holds the moral elements  
 “ of the world together, was no protection. He  
 “ became at length so confident of his force, so  
 “ collected in his might, that he made no se-  
 “ cret whatsoever of his dreadful resolution. Hav-  
 “ ing terminated his disputes with every enemy,  
 “ and every rival, who buried their mutual ani-  
 “ mosities in their common detestation of the Eng-  
 “ lish. He drew from every quarter whatever



“ a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and, ~~compounding~~  
 “ ing all the materials of fury, havock, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a  
 “ while on the declivities of the mountains. While the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this manacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war, before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havock! A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple! The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses; were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land!

The first accounts of this terrible disaster, which commenced in the frontiers, were so far from being credited at Madras, that they were even treated with contempt. The burning of Conjeveram four days after the invasion, and the appearance of the enemy's horse in the neighbourhood, were such pre-

fages of approaching danger, however, as could no longer be disputed. Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson had indeed, with a laudable foresight, endeavoured to make the majority sensible of the situation to which the interest of the Company in that quarter was exposed. They pressed the immediate necessity of assembling the troops, and taking such other precautions as might check the arrogance of an enemy flushed with the expectation of finding them unprepared. The ardour, the eloquence, and the dignity of feeling, with which Mr. Sadler reprobated the remissness, which had so long and so unaccountably characterised the councils of Madras, are on record, and will remain an honourable testimony to his independent principles and patriotism, when the conduct that excited his manly and virtuous indignation is forgotten or execrated. The severity of his strictures served only to irritate the delinquents, who pronounced them illiberal, inflammatory, and unfounded. They imputed them to weakness, envy or sedition. Some expressions they construed into an intention of disturbing the public tranquillity, and others they considered as derogatory to the authority of the select committee. On these charges they voted Mr. Sadler suspended from his seat in the council, and the service of the Company. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Smith protested, with great propriety and earnestness, against this violent measure. They avowed the most perfect coincidence of sentiment with the minute on which this sentence of suspension

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sion was founded. They insisted that the terror of the example was calculated to annihilate freedom of debate. They alledged that no specific charge was brought against Mr. Sadler, and that he had not even been heard in his own defence. And they imputed the rigour of his punishment rather to the angry suggestions of private pique, than the disinterested motives of public spirit.

While the presidency of Madras were thus consuming their time in personal animosity, Hyder Ally was carrying on the savage business of carnage and rapine in every quarter of the Carnatic. The harmless inhabitants of a defenceless country were in this manner sacrificed by thousands, in revenge for a conduct which few of them knew, and none of them could prevent. The army of this fell destroyer consisted of nearly one hundred thousand men. Thirty thousand well-disciplined infantry, and twenty thousand horse, were under his own command, every where capturing the forts, wasting the country, and rearing piles of dishonourable triumph, amidst heaps of laborious ruin. Wherever the grand army quartered or encamped, flying parties of various descriptions and magnitude extended the scene of destruction with equal rapidity and success, in all directions far and wide. A chosen detachment, under Meer Saib, hovered on the borders of the Cuddephah, to emancipate, perhaps, the brother of the Nizam, from his dependence on the presidency, to involve the northern circars in the general catastrophe, or to intercept

percept the troops under the direction of Baillie. The terror and confusion inseparable from operations, objects and contingencies, thus fierce and tremendous, accumulated strength and consequence from the tremor and indecision of government. The council was equally without unanimity or firmness in deliberation or action. The orders they issued one day were revoked the next; and it was even agreed, that the advice and presence of the commander in chief were more necessary at Madras than at the head of the army. The temporary command of the troops was consequently delegated to Lord Macleod, who, disliking the arrangement prescribed, digested a system for himself, which he submitted to the presidency, with this declaration, that he could not adopt a responsibility in the execution of plans which did not coincide with his own judgment. Sir Hector Monro was therefore under the necessity, notwithstanding the late resolution of the select committee, to exchange the cabinet for the camp.

Mean while intelligence kept pouring in from every quarter, of the enemy's fatal progress, of his fresh devastations, and of his nearer approaches. The various representatives of towns and districts were clamorous in their complaints and requisitions to the presidency for protection against the common enemy. Accounts from all the forts and garrisons were at the same time given in, which stated their utter inability to make an effectual stand against the force who menaced them; and that nothing could

could save them but an immediate reinforcement of troops, and a fresh supply of stores and provisions. Under the pressure of such various and material exigencies, the presidency had recourse to the Nabob for whatever money and provisions he could procure. While he reproached them with tardiness and inactivity, he promised to afford oxen, sheep and rice, as plentifully as it was in his power, to complete four regiments of cavalry, and put them under the management of the commander in chief, during the war, and to make assignments of territory for whatever money might be advanced by the Company, for the pay of his troops. But the actual arrangements in the detail of his government ill accorded with these professions. The officer to whom he intrusted the command of the strong hold of Gengee, in a moment when the safety of the place was at stake, disputed the right of a British officer, sent with a reinforcement for his assistance, to adopt any measures for its defence, until specific orders were received from the Nabob. Carangally was defended by a subaltern and only twenty miserable sepoy, who refused a supply of ammunition from Colonel Braithwaite, without the authority of the Durbar. And the troops which the colonel then marched from Pondicherry to join the army were reduced to the greatest distress, by the Nabob's farmers making the want of his orders an apology for refusing to furnish them with provisions. All these inattentions cooperated with the enemy's indefatigable activity to

render the devastation as general and irresistible as possible. There was scarcely, by this time, a place from one end of the coast to the other, which was not menaced or invaded. From Cape Camerin to the banks of the Kistna one continued scene of plunder, confusion and bloodshed, prevailed. The Company's forces, though stung by the sight of these merciless marauders, because incapable of assembling, could not act with effect, while those whom the Nabob had placed in his different strong holds, without discipline or attachment, instead of maintaining their posts and defending either their masters interest or their own honour, seemed proud of such an opportunity to revenge, by mutiny and treachery, his inattention both to their safety and his own.

In the beginning of August a plan was committed to Colonel Colby for collecting a considerable detachment from several garrisons in the neighbourhood of the army, in conjunction with two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry, for intercepting an immense convoy of stores and provisions, which had to pass some narrow defiles from Hyder's country to his camp. But no genuine information could be obtained concerning either the country or the enemy; the peasantry, wherever found, being industrious only to deceive the commander, whose movements were, at the same time, exactly reported to Hyder by the servants and officers of the Nabob. To this obstinacy in the inhabitants, and treasonable conduct in the  
people

people under the Durbar, the failure of an enterprize, which might have exceedingly distressed the enemy, must be attributed. And it was not without the greatest danger and difficulty that Cosby, in the middle of the following month, effected his escape upon the retreat from Conjeveram.

Depredations by the enemy's horse, on the villages and gardens about the mount, determined the council to adopt some measures for their own immediate defence. The intention of assembling the army at Conjeveram was frustrated for want of bullocks, which, that the enemy might not seize them, had been driven to a distant place of refuge. The mount was therefore made the place of general rendezvous, until provisions could be collected, and the means of conveyance procured. The Nabob was, at the same time, repeatedly pressed and importuned for every possible supply of bullocks and provisions; and that he would delegate some person of consequence to attend the army, and prevent those wants and inconveniences which so effectually impeded their operations.

Hyder sat down before Arcot, the metropolis of the Carnatic, on the 21st of August. The Nabob appeared sensibly interested in the fate of his capital. He was more than commonly earnest in his entreaties that the army might repair immediately to the relief of Arcot, where he asserted they would find a plentiful supply of every necessary. Though the enemy's designs on this place had been

artfully covered, such intelligence was obtained as procured the garrison a considerable reinforcement from the fortrefs of Vellore. It was a few days after Arcot was invested that Sir Hefitor Monro assumed the command at the head of the army.

The detachment under Colonel Baillie were, in the mean time, very critically situated. He had been ordered, since the invasion took place, to attempt the reduction of the Cuddepah country, with, however, a latitude for the exercise of his own judgment in exercising his principal operations wherever there appeared the greatest probability of success. Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson had vigorously opposed these instructions, and assigned various reasons for ordering an immediate junction of the detachment with the main body of the army. Baillie gave now such a representation of his circumstances, from the proximity of Hyder's cavalry to the south, and the overflowing of the Kistna to the northward; the difficulty, in this contracted situation, of providing subsistence for the troops; and the dread of not being able much longer to detain the bullocks necessary for a march, without which he could not move; as impelled the majority of the committee to adopt at last the measure of Smith and Johnson, of ordering the detachment to march for the presidency, when a variety of new circumstances had rendered it infinitely less eligible and advantageous. In his return, however, it was hoped he might be able to cut off some of the enemy's convoys; and such  
a route



a route was prescribed him, with this view, as terminated in consequences peculiarly calamitous.

Sir Hector Monro found only one regiment of the Nabob's cavalry with the army when he arrived in the camp, about the latter end of August. These troops refused to continue any longer in the service, unless their arrears were immediately paid. Though the Nabob's Ameer was present, and the capital of his master in immediate danger, he declined to comply with the request. The commander in chief broke the regiment, and stripped them of their horses and arms. Seventeen officers, and about sixty privates, immediately enlisted in the Company's service. The rest were ordered to be sent, under a strong guard, as prisoners to Madras; but the Ameer next morning incorporated them with his own body guard.

The rivers had been so much swelled by the late rains, that the march of Baillie from the Guntoor was much incommoded, and his troops exceedingly distressed. A junction with this detachment was, however, eagerly desired by the general, as he then might hope to face the enemy in the field, notwithstanding their vast superiority in numbers, and other respects. He determined, in these circumstances, to move from the mount, and to wait for Baillie at Conjeveram. A whole month was wasted in collecting only eight day's rice for the army, while draught bullocks were so difficult to be obtained, that the sepoy were obliged to carry half this provision on their backs. The

whole force did not exceed six thousand men; but of these were two regiments of Europeans, two companies of European grenadiers, belonging to other regiments, and three hundred artillery. Their march was exceedingly harrassed, both by the enemy's horse, who hung on all sides of them the whole way, and the violent rains, which continued without intermission. In four days they reached Conjeveram, which, by this time, was wholly under war. The Nabob's officer, who attended them at this place to conduct them on their way to Arcot, on being urged to procure immediate provisions for the army, and obtain all possible intelligence of the enemy, was satisfied with answering, that he had no authority for doing either the one or the other. They were consequently obliged to put up with whatever paddy, or growing rice, could be collected from the open country, though in a great measure covered with water.

The siege of Arcot was, indeed, raised at the approach of our army; but the enemy endeavoured, by a judicious choice of his ground, to prevent the junction of the Company's forces, which was expected to have taken place the very next day. Baillie's march, however, had been delayed by the unforeseen rise of several rivers which he was obliged to cross. The army, under similar inconvenience from the incessant rains, were, about a week after their arrival at Conjeveram, under the necessity of removing their encampment

campment to higher ground. Nor was the utmost industry of the troops, in gathering paddy, more than sufficient for their present subsistence. Under all these circumstances, every avenue of information was so vigilantly watched by the enemy, that, except the accidental report of a deserter; the general had only [on the 3d of September] heard, from one of his own officers, who was out on a detached service, of Hyder's quitting his ground, crossing the Palar, and encamping within five miles of his front. It was known, two days afterwards, that Baillie had crossed the river, which occasioned him so much difficulty and delay. The next day the enemy made a considerable movement towards the north-east. Sir Hector advanced, at the same time, to a high ground on the Trepaffore road, where Baillie's detachment was expected. The enemy encamped about two miles to the left of the English. Hyder made this movement to cover the attack which he intended against Baillie. His brother-in-law, Meer Saib, began the action on the 5th, with eight thousand of his best horse, and was gallantly repulsed. Tippoo Saib, with six thousand regular infantry, twelve pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand cavalry, renewed the conflict, next day, at Perimbancum, where they encountered Baillie's handful of heroes, who, by conduct, exertion, and perseverance, repelled, with prodigious slaughter, even this vast superiority of numbers. He lost, however, his baggage, and a number of his men. His

whole force did not exceed three or four battalions of sepoys, and between one or two companies of European artillery. He was now within a few miles of the English camp; but the enemy's whole force intercepted their junction. Nor could he retain his present situation for want of provisions. He therefore dispatched a messenger to the general with intelligence of these particulars, and to urge the movement of the whole army, as that appeared the only measure which could effectually extricate him from his present difficulty. It consequently remained with Sir Hector to determine whether he should risk a general action under circumstances of such peculiar disadvantage as an immense body of cavalry would have over a few battalions of infantry, in a flat open country, for the purpose of saving the detachment; or whether this valuable object might not be obtained at less apparent hazard, by sending such a reinforcement to Baillie as might enable him to brave the difficulties that impeded his march. The latter part of the alternative seemed the most eligible; as, whatever the consequences were, the army would still be in possession of their post, their paddy, which they had deposited in a contiguous pagoda, and the strong grounds which they occupied.

Colonel Fletcher was honoured with the command of the reinforcement, which was composed of the flower and most active part of the army, and consisted of the grenadier and light infantry companies from Lord Macleod's highland regiment,

two other companies of European grenadiers, one company of sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of sepoy grenadiers. Fletcher refused four six-pounders which were ordered for the service, as much activity might be necessary on his part, to elude the ambushes which were probably laid for him. Hyder had the exactest intelligence of the whole manoeuvre, the strength of the party, their route, and the time they left the camp, which was at nine o'clock at night. A strong body of troops were consequently dispatched to intercept the detachment. They had undoubtedly succeeded, but that Fletcher, distrusting his guides, altered his course, and by a wide circuitous sweep to the right defeated the stratagem.

The spirit of the enemy, by the late defeats, was sensibly damped, and the reinforcement of Baillie's little army alarmed the whole camp. The chiefs and foreign officers thought, by this movement, Hyder's entire force would be situated between two fires. Lally, whom Hyder had obtained from the Nizam, and who commanded the Europeans, in company with most of the native general officers, urged the Nabob to break up his camp, and repass the Palaar, as the only certain way of avoiding the danger that surrounded them. While he hesitated how to act, he received intelligence from his spies, that the English army was perfectly quiet in camp, nor in fact was any design of a movement entertained. The Europeans particularly discredited the information, and treated the

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the idea as absurd and impossible ; and, in the conviction that Hyder was betrayed, and would be ruined, Lally went to his tent once more, and pressed the necessity of providing for the safety of the artillery and infantry, by sending them away. But Hyder, anxious to avoid the disgrace of leaving the field to an enemy so exceedingly inferior, occupied and enfiladed, by several batteries of cannon, the most covert and difficult grounds which Baillie had to pass. Large bodies of his best infantry were at the same time formed into an ambuscade on every side, while the main body of his army, under his own command, occupied a post the most favourable for supporting the attack. To divert the attention of the English, on the side of Conjeveram, a party of irregular cavalry were employed, within sight of the camp, in performing various movements. Baillie was perceived [Sept. 10], by day-light, directing his forces through the very defile thus fatally prepared for his reception. His devoted forces marched in columns, and knew nothing of their danger till it was announced from the mouth of a battery of twelve guns loaded with grape shot, which poured in upon their right flank. In half an hour fifty pieces of artillery were so well directed as to penetrate into every part of the British line. They were instantly surrounded, and vigorously assailed on all sides by twenty-five thousand cavalry, by thirty regiments of disciplined sepoy, by a strong body of Europeans, and by a numerous artillery. This little column stood notwithstanding  
firm

firm and undaunted, and repelled the repeated charges of the enemy with an incredible slaughter of their best troops. Their evolutions in the midst of such a storm of rockets, cannon and musquetry, as has seldom taken place in any other part of the world, were performed with a precision, a steadiness, and directed with a promptitude and a skill, that filled their enemies and spectators with astonishment. They had only ten pieces of cannon, which were so well served and directed as to make prodigious havock among the enemy's horse. This dreadful conflict remained doubtful for three hours, when victory began to declare for the English. The flower of the Myfore cavalry, after many bloody repulses, were at length completely defeated and driven back. Even the right wing, composed of Hyder's best troops, were thrown into disorder, and every where gave way. A rapid movement, made at that instant by Colonel Baillie, seemed to decide the fortune of the day. Hyder, in despair prepared for a retreat, which the cavalry were ordered to cover. Lally was at the same time directed to draw off the artillery. It was at this critical and important moment, that the tumbrils which contained the ammunition suddenly blew up, with two dreadful explosions, in the center of the British lines. This unexpected disaster not only overturned all their artillery, and rendered it unfit for further service, but laid one whole side of the column bare, which exposed every part of the army to a fresh attack. The total loss of ammunition was still more dreadful

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to the survivors, than even that of the troops who perished, as it left them in some degree defenceless in the face of an enraged and formidable enemy, eager to snatch the victory from those who had so nearly been their conquerors. Tippoo Saib accordingly embraced this opportunity of distinguishing himself, and fell, without waiting for orders, with infinite rapidity and fury, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic cavalry, into the broken square which had not yet time to recover its order or form. The French corps, and the first line of infantry, immediately followed. The last efforts of these brave men, thus overpowered, however desperate, was unavailable. The carnage amidst which they fell gave full proof of their exertions. The sepoys, after exhibiting prodigies of valour, were almost to a man cut to pieces. Baillie, notwithstanding the horrors which involved him on this tremendous emergency, and almost fainting with anguish, fatigue, and loss of blood, yet rallied the Europeans, and, under the fire of the whole immense artillery of the enemy gained a little eminence; and, forming a new square, these invincible veterans, without artillery or ammunition, the officers fighting only with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, and most of them desperately wounded, repulsed thirteen different charges by all the forces who could act against them. Unable longer to withstand the torrents of fresh troops, that were perpetually breaking and pouring in upon them, they were at length borne down,



down, and individually massacred by multitudes, or trampled under foot by horses and elephants. The few artillery-men who remained, when their ammunition was expended, advanced in the front of their guns, and nobly fell in their defence. Numbers, both officers and men, though cut down and miserably wounded, disdained to accept of quarter. While gasping on the ground, and weltering in blood, they continued to thrust fiercely with their bayonets to the last, and every other weapon they could grasp, at whoever approached them. Never, perhaps, was action sustained with more obstinacy, or so much execution done by so diminutive a force. Thus distressing the cause, and preposterous to nature, are the common effects of courage, united with science, and perverted by politics, to answer the barbarous purposes of ambition !

The English lost at least near four thousand sepoy, and above five hundred Europeans. The gallant Fletcher was found among the number of British officers who fell on this memorable day. It is a miracle that an individual could escape the rage of such a carnage. Baillie, however, and about two hundred Europeans, were made prisoners. He was brought before the conqueror, stript, wounded in three places, and covered with blood. In that moment of triumph and exultation, Hyder, forgetting the dignity and moderation which so eminently become the great and the brave, is said to have insulted the British veteran by an haughty and imperious demeanour. "Your highness," said Baillie, indignantly, "may ask  
" your

“ your son and the general officers what cause  
 “ there is for exultation on your part, and whether  
 “ the victory was not mine before that disaster  
 “ took place, which no human foresight could  
 “ prevent.” It was at the same time observed,  
 by a foreigner of distinction on the spot, that  
 “ officers and men supported their misfortunes  
 “ with that haughty sullen fortitude which is the  
 “ characteristic of their country.”

This victory, complete as it appeared, was dearly purchased by the enemy. The slaughter, which was immense, fell only among the best troops. Had the main body of the English army advanced upon the rear of Hyder's troops, any time during the conflict, his whole forces had probably been cut to pieces or captured. He was mounted on an elephant, and fired at five different times by an officer of artillery. Such a panic is said to have seized him, from the danger to which he was personally exposed, that, on a mere rumour that Sir Hector Monro was advancing, he abandoned the field of battle, and fled in the greatest terror to a place called the Round Wells, leaving all his baggage and the wounded behind him. But he grew more courageous, when informed that the British general, leaving his baggage and artillery behind him, retreated to Chingleput. A pursuit immediately took place, by a number of fresh and irregular cavalry, who soon returned loaded with plunder and encumbered with prisoners.

On the morning of Baillie's defeat, Monro had made some movements in hopes of meeting him:

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The smoke was seen and the firing heard on the left of the camp, but at too great a distance for affording the detachment any assistance. Indeed, no idea was entertained of attacking the enemy on that side; or that Baillie, in consequence of the late reinforcement, was not perfectly able to resist every obstruction. But when several signal cannon were fired and no return made, and the brisk cannonade, which had been just heard, was succeeded by the profoundest silence, some disaster began to be seriously apprehended. At length, the arrival, in succession, of two or three wounded sepoy, gave full intelligence of the fatal event. The whole army, officers and men, natives as well as Europeans, were stung with anger and with grief, almost to madness, at the destruction of their friends. An immediate and severe revenge on the enemy was, independent of any regard to their strength, their condition or the consequences, the only desire they indulged. The general thought himself under a necessity, however, of restraining their present impetuosity. He knew the weakness of his force, and the critical situation of affairs, but was altogether uninformed of the loss, the resources or the movements of the enemy. He had lost the flower of his troops, and there was not above two days provision in the camp: Nor had he cavalry to procure more. He might be surrounded by the host, whom he wished to subdue, and obliged to surrender without striking a blow. These suggestions were not likely to still the clamours of an army, who only panted for an opportunity

portunity of encountering the enemy. The officers in general avowed the same ardour which inspired the privates, and submitted to the orders for a retreat, with that indignant reluctance which it is natural for brave men to feel, when forced by the etiquette of arms to act by the opinions of others, in defiance of their own. And to the disorder which arose from this contrariety of sentiment, all, or most of the inconveniences which attended the march of the troops to Chingleput, may probably be attributed. They were joined at this place by the forces under Colby, which consisted of ten companies of sepoy grenadiers, an equal number of battalion and light infantry companies, with two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry.

While these important transactions distinguished the operations of the army, the country, the presidency, and its distant dependencies, were in a state of the greatest distraction. The danger seemed every where alike, immediate and inevitable. Once more Johnson and Smith arraigned the conduct of the majority with every species and degree of mismanagement. They considered them as the cause of all the calamities which had happened, or were likely to happen, in the Carnatic. They charged the institution of the select committee, as investing the president with a power independent of the council, and inimical to the constitution. And they objected, in very strong terms, to the dispatches now making up for Europe, which they alledged were unsupported by fact, and  
calculated

calculated to mislead their employers at home. The sepoy, at the same time, on whom an attempt had been made to bring from the northern circars by sea, revolted. Those at Mafulipatam were reduced to order by the address of the commanding officer on that station; but at Vizigapatam they were guilty of the grossest outrages: After killing many of their officers, and plundering the place, they went off in a body with their arms and booty: While Sitteram Row, who had lately become so much a favourite with the presidency, kept aloof, Vizeram, notwithstanding the injuries they had done him, collected his troops, and, with the vigorous assistance of another zemindar, the mutineers were pursued, attacked, disarmed, and dispersed.

These circumstances gave new vigour and dispatch to the measures of the presidency. They resolved to recal such of their forces as were on the Malabar coast; and that the ancient and useful settlement of Tellicherry should be abandoned. It had the good fortune, however, to be exempted from this sentence of dereliction. Sir Edward Hughes afterwards found means to strengthen the garrison from Bombay. Dispatches were, at the same time, sent to Bengal, pressing an immediate supply of money and troops. The king's admiral wrote to the same purpose, and exhibited such a statement of facts as could not fail enforcing the urgency of the requisition. The hourly arrival of a French fleet was now also expected. Misfor-

tunes are the medicine of states. The lofty pretensions used but little ago at the Nizam's Durbar were for the present forgotten. The council was now afraid to offend whom they had thus wantonly exasperated. Orders were instantly issued for restoring the Guntoor circar to Bazalet Jung, and for withdrawing the Nabob's managers. And the Nizam was addressed in terms as submissive and humble as they were before imperious and insolent.

The object of universal reduction was still prosecuted with vigour by the enemy. Hyder renewed his designs on Arcot, and sat immediately down before it. His attacks were carried on with all the regularity and science of an European army. The garrison beheld with surprise their guns dismounted by his batteries. His horse, every where masters of the open country, prevented all communication between the presidency and its dependencies. Our troops, cooped up in the vicinity of Madras, dared not to venture, even when pressed for provisions, above two miles beyond their entrenchments. A general dissatisfaction prevailed in the Nabob's forts, which, from treachery, desertion, or cowardice, seldom make any defence. The company's government, from its arrogance in peace, and impotence in war, became odious and contemptible, throughout the Carnatic. And Hyder, whose address in politics was not inferior to his military conduct, was singularly assiduous and successful in rendering his pretensions popular, by accommodating himself to the genius and wishes of the natives

tives, in proportion as they deemed themselves injured, betrayed, or slighted by the English.

No sooner was the awful disaster which happened to Baillie's detachment announced to the government of Bengal, than the most spirited and probable measures for extricating the Carnatic were adopted and pursued. It was immediately resolved to send a considerable reinforcement of Europeans, and fifteen lacks of rupees, by sea; and, as soon as the season and other circumstances would permit, to dispatch also a strong body of sepoy's by land. It was at the same time suggested, that all the hopes of the supreme council for retrieving the company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel depended on the presence of Sir Eyre Coote, who was then a member of their own body, as well as commander in chief of all the forces in India. The general, notwithstanding the badness of the season, and his precarious state of health, complied with the requisition. The treasure was configned to his management, as more safety was apprehended from his honour in its application, than from their measures, in whom the present embarrassment originated. Early communications were made both to the presidency of Madras and to Sir Edward Hughes, of what had been done, and an assurance given of the sincerest disposition to cultivate a peace with the Marrattos. Sir Edward was also requested to direct the operation of his squadron against Hyder's ports and navy on the Malabar coast.

The general was only twenty-three days on his passage from Calcutta to Madras. Arcot was taken by assault on the third, and he arrived on the fifth of November. The fort, or citadel, though strong, was given up without any defence. Hyder's humanity and generosity to his prisoners having reached the garrison, all the sepoy, to a man, deserted the fort in the night, and went over to Hyder, leaving their officers under an absolute necessity of surrendering at discretion. This capture has been generally attributed to the treachery of the Nabob's people, by whose turbulence and intrigues the garrison had been kept in dissension during the whole siege. Hyder treated the principal officers immediately after with the greatest confidence; and he had long before avowed the fullest information of the most secret transactions in the Nabob's Durbar.

General Sir Eyre Coote brought with him from Bengal two hundred European artillery, six companies of infantry, one of volunteers, and between six and seven hundred lascars. With this reinforcement, more considerable indeed from the intrinsic value of the troops, than their number, all the force he could collect in two months time, at the amount where he encamped, did not exceed seven thousand men. Madras was protected, and the monsoon season covered the inaction of an army, otherwise totally incapable of taking the field. The general took his seat as second in council two days after his arrival at Madras, and produced the  
orders



orders from the superior government for the suspension of Mr. Whitehill, the president. His obstinacy in the affair of the Guntoor circar subjected him to this sentence. He disclaimed the authority which de vested him of his power. The suspension being however confirmed by a majority of the council, he assumed a merit from that moderation which induced him to prevent the evils of a civil war, by submitting. Mr. Smith, as next to the chair, succeeded. The board, thus new-modelled, found the situation of affairs still worse than was expected. The passes from the mountains were unguarded; the troops belonging to the presidency were not collected; no suitable provision for even the protection of Fort St. George had been made; the carriages for field artillery were only preparing; the troops were dispirited, the sepoys deserting; the country desolated; the inhabitants treacherous; all communications cut off; their provisions consumed, and their resources exhausted. The enemy's superiority was increased in proportion as our strength diminished, which arose not only from the success of his army, but chiefly from his good policy. "Hyder," says Sir Eyre Coote, "had taken every measure, which could occur to the most experienced general, to distress us, and to render himself formidable; and his conduct in his civil capacity had been supported by a degree of political address, unequalled by any power that had yet appeared in Indostan."

A revolution, of the most favourable aspect to the Company's interest, was instantly observable in the conduct of government. Unanimity was restored, and vigour was the immediate consequence of decision. The entire management of the war was forthwith delegated to the general. Even Hyder, affected by the fame of the commander, whose measures he had now to counteract, observed for the future more than ordinary caution. The number of his forces was by this time much augmented. It was generally allowed to exceed considerably an hundred thousand men; and, from the circumscribed operations of our army, he was encouraged and enabled to lay siege at once to several of the principal towns and forts in the Carnatic.

The fate of Madras, of the English interest in the Carnatic, and perhaps in all India, was wrapt up in the small army under the command of Sir Eyre Coote. We had not only Hyder Ally, but the whole inhabitants in the Carnatic, to combat. The Nabob's renters were every where treacherous and hostile. One of them, having been detected in endeavouring to betray Villore to the enemy, was put in irons by the general, that "he might be instrumental to the discovery of those dark designs which Sir Eyre had long expected to exist in the court of a native power, living under the very walls of our garrison of Fort St. George."

That the general might proceed on the surest grounds, he submitted his plan of operations to a council of war, composed of Sir Hector Monro,  
 Lord

Lord Macleod, and Brigadier-General Stuart. These officers coincided entirely with the judgment of the general for the march of the army to the relief of the besieged places. His presence seemed to inspire the officers as well as men with fresh confidence and courage. Even Sir Hector Monro, who might have been supposed most chagrined by a number of the new arrangements, had the generosity to declare that there was nothing more to be desired than bringing the enemy to a general engagement, as he was confident the army would be successful under its present leader against any superiority of numbers. Sir Eyre Coote laid the whole proceedings of the council of war before the select committee, desiring their advice also in this critical and momentous business. A measure which effectually rivetted their confidence in his conduct, and the event was an entire acquiescence with the opinion of the council of war.

The relief of Wandewash on the 17th of January [1781] was the first object for which the army left the mount. Hyder not only raised the siege of that place, but abandoned all the others with equal precipitation on the general's approach. Thus was the storm considerably abated by facing it manfully. Other garrisons were also strengthened and supplied with provisions; a great extent of country recovered, and a new frontier formed. Thus a security was provided for Madras, as effectual as if the army had been encamped under its walls. The spirit and confidence of the troops were con-

frequently restored, and the whole complexion of affairs began every where to put on a more favourable appearance.

The inhabitants of Pondicherry, on the commencement of the present war, and in direct violation of all treaty, the moment Colonel Braithwaite had evacuated the place, in return for all past favours, and present confidence, rose in arms, plundered the solitary resident, who had been left to superintend their conduct, and even compelled him, with fixed bayonets at his breast, to sign a written instrument, the contents of which he knew not. They armed a number of sepoy, and amassed prodigious quantities of provisions, which they deposited at Carangolly a town at some distance upon the coast. Sir Eyre Coote had always condemned the indulgence shewn to the French as highly impolitic and dangerous. Their conduct on this occasion did not therefore surprize him. But no sooner had he relieved the besieged places than he went against Pondicherry, disarmed the inhabitants, destroyed their boats, and removed their stores. The squadron of M. de Orves was soon after obliged to leave the coast for want of the boats which had been thus opportunely destroyed. At the same time Sir Edward Hughes performed excellent service on the Malabar coast, by annihilating at one stroke the whole of Hyder's shipping in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore.

By

By Hyder's eagerness to reduce Trichinapoly, he was drawn into a general engagement with the English. This army was then little less than two hundred thousand strong. The British general was not in the least dismayed by the magnitude of the enemy. He commanded a body of veterans, on every individual of whom he placed the greatest dependence. Such clouds of Hyder's cavalry hovered about our camp, and infested the whole surrounding country, that it was not only impracticable to send out a reconnoitring party, but a single man could not escape detection. On this account, not one of the scouts whom the general dispatched for intelligence ever returned, and the only knowledge he could obtain of the enemy's situation was from such a view of them as his own advanced posts would admit.

The army moved from the camp at Port Novo, July 1st [1781] early in the morning, with the sea at no great distance on the right. It was necessary to protect the baggage from Hyder's irregular cavalry, who, upon the first opening, were in readiness to pour in upon them. A detachment for that purpose was now therefore ordered, which consisted of two regiments of cavalry, and a battalion of sepoy, with seven pieces of light artillery. These, with the usual guard of an hundred and fifty sepoy, a few poligars, and a Marratto corps, were judiciously placed in the opening between the right of the army and the sea.

The

The enemy's cavalry now appeared in an extensive plain, drawn up in great force. Sir Eyre Coote formed his troops in two lines, and proceeded on his march in order of battle. Hyder's principal force was seen marshalled in battle array in the rear of his works, which lay directly upon the intended line of our march, and which extended further than the eye could reach. Immense bodies of horse paraded in every direction, and great quantities of rockets were thrown, without intermission, to confound the observation, and if possible to derange the order or impede the movements of the English army. Their cannonade, which was well served, was not expended without execution, at the same time that the English general reserved his fire for an opportunity in which it would be attended with the completest effect.

Here it was proper to examine the position of the country, and the army halted; while the general, availing himself of every advantage which the ground afforded, conceived the grand movement upon which he chiefly rested his hopes of success. He was anxious to discover whether his situation would admit of his taking such a sweep on the right, as would enable him to turn the enemy's left, wishing to fall upon them rather obliquely, than to be under the necessity of making his attack on the front of their works and batteries. Fortunately, the operation was practicable, and was performed by the first line with a promptitude and celerity

celerity that astonished and disconcerted the enemy. The general, having by this manœuvre contracted his front, instantly formed a new within reach of Hyder's artillery, but in some degree covered from its fire. The heights in his rear were eagerly seized and occupied by General Stuart, who commanded the second wing, which prevented the enemy from separating the two lines, and encouraged the general to advance with confidence on the enemy.

These sudden and unexpected evolutions, obliged Hyder to a fresh arrangement of his army. And his movements were formed with great expedition and exactness. He withdrew his guns from the batteries to the line, and received Sir Eyre Coote, with a new front. He ordered a strong body of disciplined infantry, with a suitable artillery, a prodigious number of irregulars, and an immense force of cavalry, to attack the English posted on the heights; while another detachment attempted, by getting into the interval during the conflict, to attack Sir Eyre Coote in the rear. Thus was each wing separately, and almost equally engaged. The fresh forces, with which the enemy were incessantly relieved, rendered the battle long and obstinate. It lasted above six hours, in which every individual in the Company's service fought as if the fate of the day had depended on his single prowess. The spirited, regular and unanimous exertions of such a body of determined veterans, under the conduct of a brave, experienced and successful leader, were not to be resisted

fisted by an Indian army of any magnitude what-  
 ever. By four o'clock the first line, triumphing  
 over every obstacle, drove the infantry, artillery,  
 and cavalry of the enemy, promiscuously before  
 them. The second line, at the same time, under  
 the command of Brigadier-General Stuart, had  
 not only repulsed the other division of the enemy,  
 but dispossessed them of their post. They like-  
 wise totally defeated the attempt made to attack  
 the general's rear. The masterly and well-directed  
 exertions of the troops in this quarter prevented  
 the enemy, notwithstanding their numbers, from  
 making the smallest attempt upon the baggage.

No victory could be more complete or decisive  
 on all sides. The tumult and confusion in the  
 retreat of such numbers afforded every advan-  
 tage to troops who could have pursued them with  
 effect. The whole of Hyder's artillery and stores  
 might have been captured, but his cattle left the  
 field in full trot, while our's were scarcely able to  
 drag the guns along. And no circumstance could  
 be more vexatious to brave men, than their utter  
 incapacity to seize the fruits of a victory thus  
 dearly earned. For the behaviour of every man  
 in the army, from the commander in chief to the  
 meanest sepoy, was highly meritorious. Both  
 lines, the one commanded by Sir Hector Monro;  
 and the other by General Stuart, did the amplest  
 justice to the orders and admirable dispositions of  
 Sir Eyre Coote, who generously declared, that  
 every individual of his little army seemed to feel  
 that



that all the interest of the nation and Company was then at stake. "Every nerve," said he, "was exerted to the very extent of possibility."

Three thousand of the enemy were killed. Meer Saib, Hyder's brother-in-law and favourite general, was mortally wounded. Among his killed and wounded were likewise several other of his leaders and best officers. The English general halted just beyond the enemy's ground, from inability to continue the pursuit. Here the second line and baggage joined him about midnight. His loss did not exceed four hundred, nor was there an officer of rank or distinction among either killed or wounded.

Hyder left the important pass of Puravenour open as he passed through it in the evening. Tip-poo Saib, who had sat down before Wandewash with thirty thousand men, raised the siege precipitately, and joined his father in the neighbourhood of Arcot. The English were, in a few days, strengthened by a considerable reinforcement from Bengal, which, under the favour of Moodajee Boonla, had marched through the territories of Orissa. The general, deeming himself able to act with vigour, laid immediate siege to Trepaffore, which, after a few days, capitulated on the 23d of August. At that moment the enemy appeared in full march to its relief, and there was not then more than one day's rice in the English camp. Trepaffore afforded such a seasonable supply as enabled Sir Eyre Coote, after obtaining some rice from Poonamella,

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to march in quest of the enemy. Hyder fell back a few miles to the very ground where he had defeated Colonel Baillie, as the English approached; where, in the determination of trying his fortune in a second battle, he took a very strong position. The country between the two armies was intersected by several very deep water-courses, which rendered the attack, on the part of the English, peculiarly arduous. The general was under the necessity of forming his front under a very heavy cannonade, both from well-placed batteries and from the guns in the enemy's lines. The discipline and firmness of any troops never underwent a fiercer trial; and the general declared, that their steady valour could not have been surpassed by the first veterans of any nation in Europe. This engagement, which happened on the 27th, lasted from nine in the morning until it was near sun-set. The enemy were driven successfully from all their grounds. Our army fought as if inspired by the manes of their countrymen and fellow-soldiers, whose memorable exertions and defeat on that very spot were still so recent in their memories. Our loss however was greater, and that of the enemy less, than on the former battle. The irregularity of Hyder's ground afforded more cover from our fire. General Stuart lost a leg by a cannon shot, and Colonel Browne his life by the same means. One of the general's aid-de-camps was killed by his side. These were the only officers of consequence who fell.

Another

Another action, about a month subsequent to this, was fought at a place called Sholingur. Hyder's loss in these encounters, while he preserved his artillery and stores, was but trivial. It was four o'clock before this battle commenced; and the sun did not go down until the enemy were totally routed. They were now in the habit of giving way in every contest with the company's forces. On this occasion their cavalry and infantry suffered extremely, while our loss was perfectly trifling.

In the beginning of 1782, the general went to the relief of Vellore, which was now reduced to great distress for provision. Hyder watched the motions of the army; and, as they passed a deep morass, commenced a very heavy cannonade. He wished to cut off the baggage and convoy, while the troops were entangled in their march. After an action of four hours, in which the flower of Hyder's troops were severely handled, he was forced to abandon his object with disgrace. The army, which had suffered but little, having pursued its course, and accomplished the end of the expedition without further molestation, on coming up to the same morass three days after, found Hyder prepared on the other side to dispute their passage. They passed notwithstanding the fire of his cannon, about four in the afternoon, when the general having formed, and secured the baggage, advanced with his usual promptitude upon the enemy. The resistance was but feeble. A general rout ensued, and a pursuit, in which the slaughter was

was considerable. Thus ended a campaign, the most ardent, the most brilliant, the most bloody, and attended with effects the most general and unexpected of any, perhaps, in the history of political society.

During these transactions, an account of the war with Holland having arrived in India, five India ships from China, in their way home, touched at Fort Marlborough, on the coast of Sumatra. The gentlemen of that factory instantly conceived the practicability of capturing the Dutch settlements on that island. Mr. Botham, one of the council, was intrusted with the conduct of the expedition, in concert with Captain Clements, commodore of the five ships. Captain Mandeville, with an hundred men, were all that could be spared from the fort. The governor of Padang, mistaking the force coming against him, was suddenly terrified into a surrender, not only of that place, but of all the other Dutch settlements on the western extremities of the island.

A strong armament was, at the same time, and for very obvious reasons, sent against the Dutch settlement in the town, port, and fortress of Negapatam, on the Tanjore coast. Major-General Sir Hector Monro was appointed to conduct this enterprize in concert with Sir Edward Hughes. The land forces already in the Rajah's country were only assigned for this service. It proved exceedingly arduous. The garrison was at least eight thousand strong. The besiegers, in all, did not amount  
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to half the number. The troops were much distressed by the badness of weather, and the dampness of their situation. Most of the wounded died, and many of the seamen, from heat and fatigue, were suddenly destroyed by violent cramps and spasms. Notwithstanding these difficulties, and after the failure of two desperate sallies with their whole force, terms of capitulation took place. The town and citadel, with all the stores and contents, which belonged to the government or Company, were surrendered to the victors. Private property was secured; and the inhabitants, upon taking the oath of allegiance, were to share the protection of the English. The garrison were allowed military honours, and then made prisoners of war. The governor, council, and other civil officers, were retained on parole. Hyder's infantry, and other sepoys, threw down their arms, and made their escape on the night preceding the capture. During a service of so much hazard and action, the whole loss of the besiegers, Europeans, and natives, in killed, wounded, and missing, were little more than one hundred men. They found in the place some fine artillery, and large quantities of military stores.

The reduction of Negapatam expelled the enemy from the kingdom of Tanjore. All the forts and strong holds, which they possessed in that country and its vicinity, were evacuated without delay. The poligars of Marawar and Tinevelly,

who had revolted to Hyder, were at the same time reclaimed, and waited only a proper opportunity of renewing their peace with the Nabob. The success of the Company's arms against a force of such magnitude made every where the strongest impression in their favour. And a general faith, in the various miracles formerly attributed to the operations of their arms, began to revive.

It was early in 1782 that the expedition against the Dutch interest and monopoly, especially of the spice trade, in the valuable island of Ceylon, was conceived and executed. Sir Edward Hughes was assisted in carrying on this enterprize, and supplied by the general with five hundred volunteer sepoys, and an officer and thirty artillery men, to garrison the fort, in case it fell into their hands. After encountering a variety of impediments incident to that species of service, and not a little etiquette between Sir Edward and the governor, who had been personally intimate, the place was at length stormed with success. It contained a prodigious quantity of military stores. Two ships richly laden, with a number of smaller vessels, were taken in the harbour. Four hundred European military were made prisoners, and a few Malay officers. Our loss was very inconsiderable. The admiral was much affected by the death of Mr. Long, a young man of promising talents, and his own second lieutenant in the *Superbe*, who fell as he led on his company to the assault. He applauded  
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the conduct both of the naval and marine officers, as meriting peculiar distinction, but specified the services of Major Geils, an engineer, as instances of the most eminent and useful abilities.

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**CHAP.**

## CHAPTER XI.

*Demands on the Rajah of Benares—He is charged with Contumacy—The Governor-General visits Benares—The Rajah is taken into Custody—The Sepoys and Officers on that Service massacred—He flies—His Relation, and Enemy, succeeds to the temporary Management of the Zemindary—The Temerity and Repulse of Captain Mayaffre—The Governor-General abandons his Quarters by Night—The Nabob Vizier's Visit—Mal-treatment of the Princesses of Oude, the Women of the Zenana, and the Royal Offspring—Disturbances in the contiguous Provinces—Military Operations—Government settled—Peace with Sindia—Booty seized by the Army.*

**A**LL the resources of the company were unequal to the constant and extraordinary disbursements, which the hostilities now raging, in almost every part of their possessions, occasioned. They grappled with difficulties at present, which had occurred in no former period. All India was in arms. The expulsion of strangers, who aimed at universal empire, by a system of uniform rapacity and usurpation, was an object which roused, united, and sanctified their efforts. This general confederacy derived a fresh and formidable accession of strength and consequence from the declaration of a French war. The pressure of these circumstances, by touching the inmost springs, and bring-



bringing into action all the latent powers of government, produced a series of extraordinary effects. It was assumed, as an operative principle in politics, that the expenditure of a war establishment should be provided for by a revenue altogether new; that the supreme council had a right to make the state of the treasury the standard of their pecuniary requisitions, and that public exigence was a sufficient plea for private extortion.

The zemindary of Benares, which includes also the circars of Gazypour and Chunar, constituted a part of the dominions of Oude, until the year 1774, when its tribute, or quit rent of twenty-four lacks, was transferred to the English. In the year 1778, when the French war commenced, it was resolved, that Cheit Sing, the Rajah of Benares, should be required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy of five lacks, to answer the additional expence occasioned by this emergency. Great objections was raised against this demand. The Rajah, however, consented to make the payment with a very ill grace, and discharged it with a worse. Another year, the same requisition was renewed; and, though known to be extremely rich, Cheit Sing affected to dispose of his plate and jewels, as an evidence how unable he was to comply with the imposition. Two battalions of sepoy's were therefore quartered in his dominions, and their pay charged to his account, until he realized the expectations of his superiors. The third year's sub-

fidy was not discharged with more promptitude, and similar means of coercion were adopted. And when one lack only had been produced, the Rajah wrote to the governor-general, with his own hand, stating the impoverished state of his treasury and resources, and praying a remission of the remainder till another year, when he promised to pay it with the stipulated revenue. No answer was made to this humble petition for indulgence, but a fresh order was immediately presented for a thousand horse. It could hardly be expected that such a supply could be readily obtained, where a yearly subsidy of sixty thousand pounds had been extorted with so much difficulty. And though the Rajah, in his remonstrance to Mr. Hastings, asserts, that five hundred horse, and as many barkundasses, were ready, and at his service; we are, nevertheless, assured, in an authentic narrative of that transaction, that no more than half that number was promised, and not a single horse ever sent. Thus was the Rajah's anxiety and jealousies of his own safety awakened. He was treated with a suspicion that suppressed his confidence, and with a rigour that tended unavoidably to relax his attachment. The iron hand of oppression was stretched forth, and he found himself without the means either of satisfying or resisting its grasp. Overwhelmed with apprehension, it was natural to look out for such a protection as might supply that which he supposed to be withdrawn, to try whether the neighbouring powers would not afford him an asylum from  
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the tempest that impended, or what resource he might find among his countrymen against the machinations of implacable foreigners. A striking coincidence took place, between his own experience and the general ideas then entertained of the British character. The name of Englishman was now regarded, in almost every part of India, with execration. In the very dominions of their allies, in Oude, in the circars, and in the Carnatic, they were most hated, only because best known. Weary of the yoke that galled him, and incensed by a repetition of insult, it is not improbable that Cheit Sing might correspond with the princes around him on the most likely means of extricating himself from his present embarrassment, speculate on terms of mutual support, or agree on such a plan of general concert with them as promised the most effectual protection to their respective rights: that he might even have written to the discontented Begums of Oude, or caballed with the disaffected tributaries of the English. He has certainly been charged with having exhibited unequivocal symptoms of this seditious turn of mind in his own conduct, but which were obvious in a still higher degree in the behaviour of his officers and his people. These facts, however, are alledged without any specification of dates, names, or circumstances; nor even included in the written complaints, which were stated against, and sent to him on the spot. Indeed, the expences of the war had become so enormous, and the means of still carrying it on had

drained the treasury to such a degree, that new sources of supply were become a matter of great and pressing importunity. The wealth and impotence of the Rajah might now, therefore, point him out as the proper and immediate object for answering the public exigence.

During this state of affairs in the zemindary of Benares, the governor-general went to visit it in person upon the 7th of July [1781]. He wished, at the same time, to restore harmony in the provinces of Oude, and to procure as much money as possible. Colonel Muir was then negotiating a peace with Sindia, and Mr. Hastings naturally expected that his approach might expedite the business. The disappointment of aid from the Rajah, even in a crisis of the greatest public distress and danger, did not affect him so much as those instances of contumacy and disobedience, which he considered as proofs of a deliberate intention to subvert the Company's authority, and to erect his own independency on its ruins. He adopted, at the same time, the report, that the Rajah inherited immense wealth from his father Balwant Sing, which was deposited in the two strong forts of Lutteespore and Bedjeygur, and annually augmented; that his military establishment and stores were preserved on the most respectable footing; that his strong holds were numerous, in good condition, and well supplied; that he maintained an intercourse with such powers, as either were, or might become enemies to the company; and that he was prepared

prepared for open revolt, and waited only for a favourable opportunity of declaring it. By his agents and emissaries in Calcutta he was also thought to have taken an active and decided part against the governor-general, in those contests which had long prevailed between him and his colleagues in office. To this strenuous opposition to the censures incurred at home, by his delinquencies abroad, and to the constant and general expectation in India, that he must have been recalled from the service of the Company, the governor-general roundly charged the whole of the Rajah's misconduct. This was probably the crime which he deemed the least pardonable, for which he was to be punished, as an example which justice and policy required; which was to render his guilt the means of relief to the Company, and in consequence of which a penalty was to be exacted from him, which he was well able to bear, and at the expence of a fund destined by him for purposes of the most dangerous tendency to the British interest in these parts.

The governor-general's progress up the Ganges lasted near six weeks. The Rajah was much alarmed by this unexpected journey. He shrewdly suspected the governor was not cordially his friend. His profligate relation Oussaun Sing had for some time been much caressed at Calcutta. And he now attended in the governor-general's train. This man, who had once been the bosom friend and chief minister of the Rajah, had, by mal-administration, forfeited

forfeited the esteem of his master, and squandered his substance by such an unprincipled life, that he was at length banished the country. He had soon returned, however, at the head of a most profligate banditti, who became so numerous and formidable, that he was at length only expelled by a reinforcement of the Company's forces. The Rajah could not but regard a man who had thus abused his confidence, defied his power, and outraged the tranquillity of his government, as his mortal enemy. And what could he expect from the visit of a superior who suffered his suite to be disgraced by so abandoned a character! The Rajah, however, with a great train of the principal people of his country, met the governor-general at Buxar, on the borders of Benares. The opinion, that this splendid retinue had been collected with an hostile intention, has been refuted by the event. In consequence of this meeting, a second took place next morning: A conversation occurred, which the two parties have related differently. The governor-general delivered his recollection of what happened with much caution, disclaimed all pretensions to correctness; and, because it made no part of his plan, he considered it as a contingency of no consequence. He stated, however, that Cheit Sing expressed the greatest concern for the displeasure he had incurred, and such parts of his conduct as had given offence, that he declared the zemindary, and all he possessed, was at the disposal of the Company; that the presence of Oussaun Sing filled him

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him with the most distressing apprehensions; and that from an uncommon agitation of mind, or to impress a strong opinion of his sincerity, he accompanied his words with the singular action of laying his turban in Mr. Hastings' lap. In reply, the governor-general disclaimed the idea of descending to become a party in the family altercation of the Rajah, but avowed the highest displeasure, in explicit and peremptory terms. He added, that he had already been deceived by his oaths and protestations, and should not suffer his purpose to be changed, or his duty to be overruled, by any verbal concessions whatever. But in the Rajah's manifesto the governor-general's overtures are mentioned as peculiarly harsh and exorbitant. Having discussed the subject of the tribute, his profession of attachment and fidelity to the Company, and his readiness to comply with their desires in every thing within his power, no less a sum than a crore of rupees, or about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling, was demanded as the price of forgiveness and future favour. The surrender of Bedjeygur, which he calls "his family residence, the deposit of his women and of his honour," was at the same time required. To the first of these demands he pleaded absolute inability; in reply to the second he said, for what he had done he should be punished by the forfeiture of his domestic sanctuary, and branded with the infamy of having relinquished  
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the sacred deposit of his family and personal honour.

When they arrived at Benares, on the 14th of August, the Rajah was forbid to wait on the governor-general, as he had intended, that evening, and desired to defer his future visits until permission was obtained, as some matters were previously to be settled. Next day Mr. Markham, the resident at Benares, was dispatched by the governor-general, with a paper, in which the several charges against him were stated, and an immediate answer required. Had he wished to irritate the Rajah by invective, rather than to gain him to his purpose by conciliating language and an affable deportment, the means he pursued could not have been more properly selected. This extorted from the Rajah an ample vindication of his conduct. The non-payment of the extraordinary subsidy he attributes to circumstances which he could not prevent or elude; that the failure of the remittance to the army was the fault of those who were intrusted with the business; that the demands on him for cavalry were incapable of being literally fulfilled; that his communications on that subject had been neglected or discredited; that he had announced to the resident his readiness to detach, for the service of the Company, five hundred horse, and as many militia, or irregular troops; that he had written an account of these forces to the governor-general, who he daily expected would have sent some direction for their disposal; that no answer



swer was returned to this letter any more than to the former ; and that Mr. Markham and he repeatedly expressed their mutual surprize at this filence. He denies that any agents or emissaries were ever sent to Calcutta, or that any of his people were there, except a few whom he named, and who were openly employed on public business, with the governor himself. These, and other imputations of a similar nature, he avows to be the calumnies of his enemies, who were bent on his ruin ; but he congratulated himself, that the governor-general would now have an opportunity of detecting the falsehood on the spot. That robberies and murders were committed in his country with impunity, was an allegation equally unfounded. He was careful to punish every such crime, and no culprit ever could elude justice by other means than abandoning the country.

This answer, though couched in language the most humble and submissive, was considered by the governor-general as an insult of the highest and most offensive kind, not so much a vindication of the Rajah, as a recrimination on himself ; and rather a letter of defiance, than a representation which betrayed any sense of misconduct, or facilitated the return of friendship. He admits that some of the Rajah's letters might not have been answered ; but adds, in a tone of superlative stateliness, that it was the Rajah's duty to obey the positive and repeated orders which he had received, and " not to waste his time with letters of excuse, to cavil  
" with

“ with his answers for evasion, or with his silence  
 “ for delays.” Moderation in power was not then  
 the characteristic virtue of the supreme government.  
 And much delicacy was not to be expected in the  
 exercise of a delegated authority, by the agent of  
 British merchants to the prince of Benares.

The governor-general deemed it impolitic,  
 either to leave him in the full exercise of powers,  
 which he had thus obviously abused, and which  
 he apprehended might still be employed to the  
 most dangerous purposes, or to divest him entirely  
 of the zemindary, though justifiable on the grounds  
 he had stated, as this might have appeared too  
 severe, and rendered the company's government  
 obnoxious to censure. By laying the person of the  
 Rajah under arrest, he expected to avoid both ex-  
 tremes. The Rajah's palace was situated on the  
 banks of the Ganges, on the same side with the  
 city of Benares, and about two miles distant. Mr.  
 Markham was instructed to proceed early in the  
 morning, with only his accustomed guard, that it  
 might appear no more than a common visit, and  
 there to put him under arrest, and require his im-  
 mediate submission, in the governor-general's name,  
 and to keep him in custody until he received fur-  
 ther orders. Two company's of sepoy's from Major  
 Popham's detachment were ordered to follow and  
 support the resident in the execution of this delicate  
 service.

The Rajah made no resistance, but resigned  
 himself to his fate, with perfect submission to the  
 resident'

resident's authority. He was ready to obey whatever the governor-general should prescribe. His entire zemindary, his forts, and his treasure, were at his service, and even his life if demanded. But he felt the ignomy to which he was exposed by this public disgrace. He trusted his youth and inexperience would be some apology for such of his errors as had given most offence. He begged the resident would make a just representation of his obedience, and plead for him, that, in consideration of his father's name, he might obtain his freedom on proving the sincerity of his offers. These submissions he repeated in a letter to the governor-general, which he concluded by saying, "What ever may be your pleasure, do it with your own hands. I am your slave. What occasion can there be for a guard?"

Other letters, replete with the same despondency, soon followed Mr. Markham. The governor-general's feelings, regulated as they were by the nicest policy, for the first time were so far touched by the misfortunes of the Rajah, that he thought it necessary to alleviate his apprehensions, by a short note, informing him, that all particulars should be explained in the afternoon, and desiring him to let his mind be at rest, and not to conceive any terror or dismay.

The Rajah had been early cautioned against suffering his people to behave in an unquiet or disorderly manner, as any attempt to rescue him would inevitably precipitate his ruin. The resident

dent left him in the custody of Lieutenant Stalker, who commanded his own guard, and of the Lieutenants Scot and Sims, who led the two grenadier companies of sepoy. These officers were instructed to disarm all his servants, but to allow him any eight or ten domestics whom he might prefer, for the attendance of his person. These were to be shewn to the sepoy, that no deception might be practicable. Nor was the Rajah to be refused any request consistent with the security of his person. Fortunately for Markham, the preparation of his instructions considerably delayed his return to the palace. On the opposite side of the river, and at no great distance, was situated Ramnagar, the common residence of the family. It was a pile of building which answered the double purpose of a palace and a fortress. A few additional out-works had been made to it of late years, and by degrees a very populous and compact town surrounded it. A standing garrison was kept in this place after the manner of all eastern princes. The residence of the court had produced the town and occasioned the garrison, and the inhabitants were violently attached to the prince, from the mildness of his manners, and the lenity of his government. Before Markham could set out, intelligence was received, that large bodies of armed men had crossed the river from Ramnagar, and proceeded directly to the palace where the prince was in custody. Our sepoy were in the square which surrounded the Rajah's apartments, but had,

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by some unaccountable inadvertence, left their ammunition behind. This circumstance was no sooner known to Major Popham, than he dispatched another company to reinforce the two former, and to supply them with ammunition. But all the avenues of the palace were so crowded and choked up by multitudes and armed men, determined to prevent access, that the attempt was immediately relinquished as impracticable. The appearance of this party probably inflamed the populace, as the attack of the grenadiers in the square certainly commenced on their arrival. These men, destitute of their usual means of defence, were an easy prey to superior numbers, who in an instant cut most of the party to pieces. Eighty-two were killed on the spot, and ninety-two so desperately wounded, that the condition of the living was much less enviable than that of the dead. The three British officers, who were said to have made a most vigorous resistance, were found mangled in the most shocking manner, and lying near each other.

The Rajah naturally expected that his life would be made to pay for the temerity of his people. In the midst of the tumult, and overwhelmed by the terrors of a scene so little expected, he was hurried away, however, by his attendants and friends, through a wicket on the garden side, which led to the river, where, from the steepness of the bank, he was let down into a boat by a number of turbans tied together, and conveyed to the other side. The authors of his rescue seem to have

acted only from impulse, without system or concert. They had no other object than his mere escape, and followed him in that tumultuous confusion which generally discriminates a mob under the direction of no superior. The additional company of sepoy, who had been prevented entering, now pushed their way as the crowds decreased. Even then so smart a scuffle ensued, that Birrel, who commanded them, had thirty of his men killed or wounded. Major Popham, who had been encamped about two miles distant, soon after arrived at the head of his detachment, and could only lament a catastrophe which it was not in his power either to alleviate or revenge.

The whole affray is attributed by Cheit Sing to the brutality of a servant belonging to the resident, who, being formerly in his service, was dismissed with disgrace, and, owing the prince a grudge, took this opportunity of treating him insolently. His people, enraged by the temerity of so contemptible a wretch, and the degradation of a chief whom they loved and adored, resented the outrage, which however seems to have originated and subsided with the feelings or paroxysm of the moment. The governor-general was lodged in a villa adjoining to the suburbs of Benares. The whole of his guard did not exceed fifty or sixty sepoy. Had the Rajah been seriously determined on resisting the Company's authority from the beginning, the governor-general might have been immediately and easily dispatched. However defective

fective these people are presumed to be in military, political, or legislative science, they are allowed to be singularly artful. And, in fact, their schemes of treachery and assassination are for the most part so well contrived as generally to succeed. The supposition, that an insurrection was seriously intended, is consequently repugnant to, what has been always understood, the well known and established character of the natives. The governor-general seems indeed to have executed this romantic expedition with a rashness which most men betray, when the immediate gratification of some strong and prevalent passion is in view. In a place so full of inhabitants, and where the native sovereign is an object of universal attachment and veneration, it was not likely all this violence should be done without popular commotion, or that his name or situation alone would carry, into a country six hundred miles from the seat of government, all its authority and effect, without such an army as might enforce his measures.

The Rajah, like all weak minds under the influence of terror and surprize, conceived no better means of safety than in distance from the scene of danger. Trusting the recovery of that fortune, which was already lost, to time and contingency, he fled from Kamragur in the middle of the same night. Such effects as could be conveniently moved, such troops as were assembled, and such of his family as were present, he carried with him. The palace was left in the custody of its own small stationary garrison. He took immediate refuge in

Lutteespore, a place of great strength. Mean while the governor-general appointed Ouffaun Sing to the administration of the revenues, and proclaimed the appointment through the city of Benares, at the same time that messengers were dispatched to announce this event in every part of the country. From the obvious temper of the people, and the nature of the arrangements which now became necessary, the troops were ordered from all their contiguous stations, without delay, to Benares. It was fortunate such a precaution had been taken; for, on the second day after the Rajah's flight, a chosen warrior and confidential-chief of the family arrived, with a body of troops, to protect Ramnagur. An emergency so perfectly unexpected made it necessary, by all possible means, to expedite the arrival of the forces. Orders were immediately dispatched for that purpose, and Captain Mayaffre, who had the command, was directed to avoid every thing like hostility, and to halt in a secure situation at some distance, that the troops might be kept collected and ready, until Major Popham had taken his measures and the command. The officer however, who led on the party, marched directly forward, regardless of the remonstrances made by those who acted under him, and despising an enemy of which he had no knowledge. Here followed a second massacre, still more dreadful than the first. They were soon involved in narrow streets and winding lanes, fired upon from all directions, and slaughtered in heaps, by a severe  
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and invifible enemy. Captain Doxat, who led the attack, infantly fell, with twenty-three of his men. The detachment under the conduct of Captain Blair, who followed, were not much longer in action, when fifty-feven men were killed, and nearly as many wounded. Not lefs than a hundred and feven men were loft, and nearly as many grievoufly mangled, by this temerity. Captain Mayaffre did not furvive the catastrophe. The Rajah's people were naturally elated by thefe fucceffes. Nor was the governor-general intimidated. The resources of his genius have in general been equal to the obftacles with which he grappled. Difpatches were prepared, and fent in multiplied copies to all the military ftations within reach, for immediate fuccour to the treasury of Oude for money, and to the camp of Chunar, for all the troops that could be fpared. But the country, by this time, was every where hostile, and in arms againft the Englifh. No communication could take place; and of the numerous meffengers occupied on this emergency, few reached their deftination.

The governor-general had taken up his refidence in Mahdoodafs's gardens, which were fituated in the heart of the fuburbs of Benares. This place confifted of many detached buildings within one large inclofure. The whole was alfo furrounded with houfes and trees, in fuch a manner as to intercept all outward profpect. Exposed by the nakednefs of the place, the want of a force adequate to its protection, the turbulence of its

vicinity, and the apprehension of an assault from the proximity of an enemy, rapidly increasing; and rendered desperate, from the certainty that they could have no safety but in success; an immediate retreat was now perhaps the most eligible measure in their power. This they commenced in the evening, and accomplished without molestation by next morning, when they arrived with all their baggage and attendants at Chunar. The wounded sepoys were however left behind, in whose favour Mr. Hastings wrote to the Nabob Saadut Ally, requesting him that he would take them under his care and protection. But the humanity of the Mussulman had taught him to anticipate the governor's desire. The kindness of this generous stranger was extended to these unfortunate men the moment he knew of their condition. His feeling heart sympathized with their sufferings, at the same time that his judgment condemned the policy that produced them. He visited them in person, he supplied them with provisions, he gave them money, he ordered surgeons to attend them, and as soon as they could be removed he brought them to his own quarters. These interesting attentions were performed at a time when the Company's credit was considered, among the natives, as precarious; when the odium raised against its servants was prevalent and universal; when Hyder Ally triumphed in the Carnatic; and when the supreme government had become contemptible from gross violations of faith,

abortive

abortive ambition, and assumptions which it could not realize. In this good man, these wretched soldiers, though wounded, fighting against a cause in which he was much interested, and now in the custody of their enemies, found a friend. Such are the offices of kindness, for which our countrymen have so generally stigmatized the Indians as barbarians!

Benaram Pundit, the Berar Vakeel, on the very evening of the retreat, had come to visit the governor-general. All was in disorder and confusion when he entered the gardens. He proceeded however with the crowd, and, notwithstanding extreme corpulence and great age, was discovered marching on foot, in company with his brother, and without a single attendant. They continued at Chunar until the governor-general was enabled to return to Benares. He even offered, without application, all the ready money he possessed, which was a lack of rupees in silver, at a time when the governor-general was exceedingly distressed.

All this while the Rajah Cheit Sing was incessant in his application for an amicable adjustment of past differences. He complained of the extremities to which he was driven, and persisted in protesting his absolute incapacity to restrain the fury of his people. The very morning after the affair at Ramnagur, in which so many of our troops were destroyed, proposals for an accommodation were offered. But Mr. Hastings seems to have obstinately adhered to one inflexible plan of unqualified severity. He would not even con-

descend to answer the Rajah's letters, some of which procured so little attention, that he neither recollects their dates, nor the time of their delivery. A supercilious consciousness of superiority, a haughty distance, or an ominous reserve, involved the whole of these violent transactions into such perplexity and obscurity, as are not accountable on the common principles of human conduct. His confident and treasurer, Cantoo Bauboo, was however permitted to confer on the state of affairs with Cheit Sing's Vakeel, or envoy, Mirza Abdoola Beg. It is not very easy to assign any reason whatever for this permission, as the conference produced no effect, though the Rajah not only exculpated himself from the outrages which had been committed at the palace, imputing the whole to the resident's servant, but made an absolute surrender of all he had, and offered to depend entirely on the governor's generosity, for every indulgence to which he might think him entitled. Cheit Sing being reduced to the necessity of taking up arms in his own defence, it was an obvious step, in the progress of the tragedy, first to pronounce him a rebel, and then to proscribe him as an object unworthy of all further protection, and with whom it was no longer competent for the state to treat.

It was about this time that the governor-general experienced new embarrassment from the Vazier's determination of visiting him at Chunar. The dominions of Oude at this moment were in a state of almost actual rebellion. The oppressions which  
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they suffered from the influence of the Company's servants were become altogether intolerable. Indeed, the contagion had spread through all the neighbouring countries, but especially in such places as were under the immediate influence of the Begums. These princesses, who resided at Fyzabad, on the river Dewa, the second capital of the Vizier's dominions, were said openly to espouse the cause of Cheit Sing, and even to permit their own officers to join in attacking the English. The whole provinces, stretching towards the mountains, were up in arms, and ready to risk every thing for expelling the English. Colonel Hannay, with two battalions of regular sepoy, was stationed in these parts. And such was the popular indignation and resentment against the English interest, that he was repeatedly attacked, surrounded, and many of his troops cut to pieces; that the zemindars instigated their dependents to outrage; and that it was with the greatest difficulty Major Hannay was enabled to make his escape. In the midst of these disturbances, and while the nearest and most distant districts of his territories were embroiled, Afzoph ul Dowlah came to pay his respects to the governor-general. It was difficult to treat a person of such distinction as a friend, at the same time that he was suspected for an enemy. And the darkest designs had been insinuated to the governor-general as the efficient cause of this journey. It was even proposed, that the person of the former should be escorted, during the interview,

terview, by such a guard as might operate as a sufficient check against all the machinations of the latter. The presence of the Vizier indeed would bring a fresh accession of credit to the desperate situation of the Company's affairs in the revolted provinces. His troops, though a rabble, might also tend to keep the country in awe, and divert the enemy's attention and operations. But the governor-general disliked the advantage which the Nabob might derive from that circumstance. Nor did he wish for any other assistance than the Company's troops, to suppress a rebellion immediately against their own authority.

It was under these apprehensions that Governor Hastings endeavoured, by letter, to dissuade the Nabob from the visit he intended, and that he urged his return to his own capital, promising to wait upon his Excellency there, as soon as the troubled state of Benares permitted. The Nabob, however, persisted in his resolution of demonstrating his zeal and attachment. He prosecuted his journey with an expedition proportionate to the delicacy of Mr. Hastings in dissuading him from it. Their meeting was apparently agreeable to both, and the greatest cordiality subsisted between them during the whole time it lasted.

The spirit of insurrection, which now raged so fiercely in the province of Benares, effected all the frontier countries under the Company's government, that were situated in the neighbourhood. Not only one half of the kingdom of Oude struggled

gled to suppress the English influence, but various districts in Bahar were also very seriously embroiled. Men were every where openly levied for the service of the insurgents. The Sarum circar, one of the largest divisions of that province, was powerfully invaded and laid desolate by Hutteh Shaw, a chief of considerable consequence in these parts, and who was supported by Cheit Sing. Indeed, the whole functions of government were for the present suspended. The scramble for property, and even existence, became general. Anarchy established all her horrors on a momentary annihilation of order. In such a scene of hostility, all intelligence from the adjacent countries was cut off; and the governor-general, shut up in the fort of Chunar, knew but little either what were the effects of his orders, the situation of the forces, or the fate of his messengers.

Cheit Sing, in the mean time, delineated his situation to the surrounding princes, in a manifesto, which for justness of conception and simplicity of language would not have disgraced the page of a Livy. After narrating his father's conduct and his own; regretting, in the bitterest terms, their unnatural partialities for strangers, who had thus requited their kindness with ingratitude and treachery; and urging them to unite as in a common cause, and expel or exirpate those usurpers, whom no acquisitions could satisfy or treaties bind; he gives a contrast of the country, under his authority, and that of the Company. It is a picture which betrays

betrays the hand of a master, "Look" says, he "to  
 " my districts, look to theirs. The different aspects  
 " they exhibit mark the limits of them more than  
 " the boundaries prescribed by nature or art.  
 " My fields are cultivated, my towns and villages  
 " full of inhabitants, my country is a garden, and  
 " my subjects are happy. The principal merchants  
 " in India, from the security of my government,  
 " resort to my capital, and make it their resi-  
 " dence. It is the bank of India, and contains  
 " the treasures of the Marattos, the Jaits, the  
 " Saiks, the native and the European nations. It is  
 " here the orphan and the widow deposit their all,  
 " and find a certain asylum from avarice and ra-  
 " pacity. The traveller and the stranger, from  
 " one end of my country to the other, lay down  
 " their burthens and sleep in security. In the Com-  
 " pany's provinces, famine and misery stalk hand  
 " in hand through uncultivated fields and deserted  
 " villages. There you meet only the aged and  
 " infirm, who are unable to flee, or robbers pre-  
 " pared to seize or kill! When Englishmen passed  
 " through my country, every kindness was shewn  
 " them, and all their wants supplied. The very  
 " baggage was taken from the backs of their cool-  
 " lies, and carried for them from village to village.  
 " My officers every where attended, to accom-  
 " modate them with necessaries and carriage at  
 " my expence, and perform all their orders as  
 " they were my own. Ask my people, if any  
 " of them met with such treatment in the countries  
 " under



“ under the Company’s management. Were they  
 “ not almost continually robbed, and in danger of  
 “ their lives?”

The head quarters was now at Chunar, a fort situated on the south shore of the Ganges. The enemy’s chief strength was encamped at Pateetah, seven miles to the southward, in the direct way to the pass Suckroot, and the strong hold of Lutteefpore. Popham’s detachment was posted about a mile from town, between the fort and the enemy.

Lieutenant Polhill, who arrived on the 27th of August, with six companies of sepoy's from the Nabob Vizier’s body guard, encamped on the other side of the river, and had a skirmish with a strong party of the enemy, at Seeker, a town and fort which lay within sight of Chunar. Polhill prevailed, and a large quantity of grain, much wanted by our forces at that time, fell into their hands. Nor were the detachment under Blair, whom Popham sent to surprise the camp at Pateetah, less successful, though their victory was dearly earned. The enemy’s camp was in fact abandoned, but they were drawn up, and waiting the attack a mile beyond it, in a manner most determined, and in an order that was not expected. The sepoy's under the command of Blair, doubly fortified as they were by the mechanism of discipline, and their confidence in European officers, met with a reception so vigorous and desperate, that they were instantly broke and thrown into confusion. The spirited attack of lieutenants Fallon and Birrel, at the head of two companies of grenadiers, upon the

the enemy's cannon, was what saved the detachment, and turned the fortune of the day. On our side, however, one fourth of the whole were killed and wounded. It was at the same time an advantage, and contributed to restore that credit and spirit which our army had in some degree lost by the late disaster at Ramnagur.

About a week after this action, Major Crabbe appeared on the shore opposite to Chunar, with two regiments of sepoy, two companies of European infantry, and thirty European artillery men, four six-pounders, one howitz, tumbrils, ammunition, draft and carriage cattle, and every other provision necessary for immediate service. This detachment had been sent by Colonel Morgan, to whom the governor-general had dispatched several expresses for this purpose, but which Morgan's zeal had anticipated. For the greater expedition, they had proceeded by water down the Ganges, though much retarded on their course to Illahabad by strong adverse winds. Here the major disembarked both men and stores, and proceeded the rest of the way by land.

It was on the following day [the 11th of September] that Assoph ul Dowlah, Nabob's vizier of Oude, arrived and took his station on the opposite shore. The communication between him and Mr. Hastings was immediately opened, and subsisted for some time with all the circumstances of superiority on the one side, and degradation on the other, which usually distinguish the intercourse of  
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a chief and his vassal. Unfortunately, the influence which the governor-general possessed in the councils of this pusillanimous prince was followed by a series of the most dreadful consequences to some of his nearest relations.

Asfoph ul Dowlah had taken and continued in his pay a certain number of our regular troops, intrusted to the British resident at his court the entire management of all his affairs, foreign and domestic, and gradually become, especially in the administration of his revenues, both in substance and effect, as well as in general repute and estimation, a mere tributary of the Company. He was, in fact, so materially and absolutely under the control of their servants, that, in the opinion of the native powers, the honour of Great Britain stood pledged for every act of his government. His mother and grand-mother were left by his father, the son of the one and husband of the other, in trust of certain treasures in money, some valuable moveables, and several landed estates, for supporting their own dignity, and the honourable maintenance of two thousand persons—his women, a numerous offspring and their dependents. The Nabob, on finding himself in deep arrears to his new masters, was instigated by the creatures, in whose custody they had placed him, to extort, under a variety of pretexts, several large sums from his aged parents, amounting in all to six hundred and thirty thousand pounds. They would not, however, pay the last of these sums, but on certain

tain terms. To secure the scanty remains of what had been solemnly bequeathed to them by the will of the late Vizier, that his son, on no account whatever, should molest them by any further claims, and well knowing whence all his former exactions and severities originated, they demanded that this family compact should be guaranteed by the governor and council-general. A treaty of this kind, involving these conditions, was accordingly executed with every possible formality, between the Nabob and his parents, and guaranteed by the British resident at Oude, under the authority, and with the express consent of the supreme government.

Notwithstanding a covenant thus solemnly ratified, the sacred inheritance of these venerable personages was ultimately alienated to gratify the rapacity of our countrymen. It was at Chunar, and during this visit of the Nabob to Mr. Hastings, that a secret treaty took place between them, which produced all those infamous transactions, to which the subsequent dishonours of the royal family of Oude were owing. In this mysterious negotiation, the Nabob was authorized and stimulated to confiscate, for his own convenience, the patrimonial inheritance of his kindred, the very lands allotted for the subsistence of his parents. The only equivalent allowed the persons, thus robbed of their all, was a pension, amounting only to the net rent of their respective property. Nor did even this indulgence extend beyond the few for whom  
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the Company were bound in the late treaty. No security was stipulated for the payment of the pensions, nor any compensation provided for those who had none. The miserable pretext for this wanton violation of faith and duty was a right in the Nabob, which, according to the Mahomedan law, gave him a title, as it was alledged, to what he thus engaged to seize by force. A claim which, however equivocal, the governor-general established, in direct defiance to the obligation to which the Nabob had so recently acceded and acted upon, without either submitting the matter to the consideration of the board, or apprising the parties, thus personally injured, that they might have recourse to whatever mode of redress their helpless situation would permit. A British magistrate even prostituted the sacred commission of his Britannic Majesty, by stooping at this very moment to the base employment of an informer, in collecting a body of hear-say evidence and vague report, in an extra-judicial capacity, for the purpose of covering the cruelties that were preparing as implements of extortion, by an attempt to convert two aged women of engaging in a plot for the deposition of their son and sovereign, and the extirpation of the English nation.

Some feeble struggles of nature in the breast of the Vizier were the only obstacles which opposed the execution of this inhuman project. But the governor-general was not to be diverted from a pursuit thus advantageous, by the squeamish remon-

frances of unavailing sensibility. The relenting heart of a son, against involving the authors of his being in immediate want, was not a consideration to be put in competition with the gratification of revenge, the requisitions of avarice, or the savage propensities of a despot. The Nabob proposed to seize the treasures of his mother, rather than be accessory to an alienation of what he had so lately and solemnly engaged to preserve. This alternative was readily adopted, though it did not afterwards even prevent the resumption of those lands, in lieu of which it was offered. The outrages, perpetrated in accomplishing these nefarious objects, implicated such an excess of cruelty, as never has been surpassed since the days of Claudius Nero. The confidential servants or ministers of these illustrious females were seized, imprisoned, and treated like common felons. They remained in fetters for near twelve months, and owed their release at last to the humanity of Mr. Bristow. It fared no better with the women of the Zenana, though they had been left to Mr. Hastings' special protection by the dying request of the late Vizier. They were shut up in the palace of Fyzabad, and guarded by a number of regular sepoy, under the command of an English officer. After undergoing incredible hardships and insults, the subsidy appropriated for their subsistence was diminished. They soon became in want of common necessaries. Pressed by hunger and despair, they baffled the astuteness of their guards, abandoned their apartments,

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and, in a condition the most abject and degrading to the sex in that country, burst into the market place. They were however instantly remanded to the Haram, and the royal offspring of Sujah ul Dowlah, the second prince in the empire of Indostan, were actually beat with bludgeons by a relentless soldiery in the service of the East India Company. Nor will it be easy to account for the exquisite distress to which two thousand persons were thus reduced, except on the shocking supposition, that a serious design had been somewhere formed of starving them to death.

Four regiments and one battalion of sepoys, three European companies, one of grenadiers, one light infantry, one French rangers, six companies of the Nabob's body guards, and thirty artillery-men, were now assembled under the command of Major Popham. Daily reinforcements were pouring in from every quarter, and a force was immediately mustered, more than equal to any army which the enemy could bring against them. The Rajah's troops, regular and irregular, did not much exceed seven thousand effective men. A prodigious rabble, hastily assembled by various chiefs in the neighbourhood, increased the number, but added little to the strength of this unwieldy body. The Rajah himself seems to have been totally unqualified for war. His officers were equally destitute of a military education, his soldiers were without discipline, and his councils were pusillanimous and undecisive.

He seemed sensible, however, that he had to contend with troops greatly superior to his own, and for that reason was inclined to negotiate rather than to fight. And, notwithstanding all his former attempts had utterly proved abortive, he renewed his application to the governor-general, whom he importuned by variety of letters, written in a style peculiarly abject. But he was still repulsed with an insolence, in proportion as he discovered the mortification which it was natural to feel in that state of degradation to which he was reduced. Mr. Barnet and Cantoo Baboo, his prisoners, interceded for him, though without effect. Many of his letters were it seems lost or destroyed; they were said to be all substantially the same, and only replete with acknowledgments of submission, protestations of innocence, and strong professions of sincerity for reconciliation. He declared in very solemn terms that he had no share in the massacre at the palace; that he had in no instance been the aggressor; that all his sufferings were on his part unmerited; and that he was still ready to prove his allegations; to renew, to demonstrate, and to preserve his allegiance. He made no scruple at the same time of avowing the numerous and powerful resources on which he placed his last dependence. Earnest as he evidently was in this critical correspondence, the governor-general persevered in that contumelious silence, which so habitually characterizes the arrogance of the strong in their intercourse with the weak. He was  
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solicitous only to make the Rajah sensible of their different situations; that he had assumed a language which in his circumstances was rather presumptuous than conciliating; and that he did not yet appear sufficiently conscious of their present inequality.

Hastings now found himself in a capacity to accomplish every object he had in view. The troops, from various success in several skirmishes which had lately happened, and the reinforcements which were incessantly increasing their number, were in high spirits. The officers were all of tried bravery and skill in their profession. The enemy were contemptible. The only impediments which seemed insuperable, were the strong places, which in general were still in the enemy's possession. Ramnagar was however surpris'd by a stratagem, conceived and carried into execution by the treachery and dexterity of a native. This was at one and the same time to reduce Pateetah, and secure the pass of Suckroot. The enterprize at both places was equally successful. The Rajah found himself, notwithstanding the strength of the fort of Lutteepore, where he was, involved in circumstances of the most imminent personal danger. The pass of Suckroot was barricaded in his rear, while Popham, at the head of a powerful body of forces, closed him in front. Thus beset, his only safety depended upon flight; but in what road or passage could he escape the vigilance of an enemy who had already penetrated the inmost recesses of the mountains! Encouraged however by a few of his most faithful

and intrepid adherents, he had the good fortune to elude his pursuers, and, by a circuitous sweep over a variety of hills and swamps, he recovered the road some miles beyond Suckroot. He then made his way to Bedjeygur, with all the caution and expedition in his power. His misfortunes, brought in this manner to a crisis, extinguished in one moment all that rage for insurrection, which the commencement of his sufferings had occasioned and excited. The unwieldy multitude, after pillaging the defenceless inhabitants of Lutteespore, dispersed every man to his own home. The contest was at an end. Further exertions were deemed no longer necessary than other booty and more advantages were expected. To men in a state of vassalage, and acting only from interest, a change of masters can be of little importance.

In consequence of these events, the country immediately resumed its former tranquillity. The farmers, the ryots, the manufacturers, and the mechanics, returned from war and plunder to the peaceful pursuits of humble industry. Within a few hours the aspect of the scene in the towns, the villages, and the fields, was totally changed. The peasantry, instead of flocking together in groups, plotting enterprizes of revenge, or exercising the implements of destruction, were every where dispersed, and re-engaged by their several occupations. Led on by no chief of system or conduct, and disappointed by his catastrophe, who of all others they preferred, no object sufficiently general,

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ral, important, or interesting, remained to stimulate, combine, or direct their efforts. Thus abandoned by the destiny of the unfortunate prince, in whose behalf they abruptly flew to arms, they now as abruptly threw them down, and with one consent suddenly dissolved, just as an arch tumbles when the key-stone is removed, or a machine falls to pieces when the spring that actuates it is destroyed. To cherish these welcome symptoms of reviving loyalty and submission, the governor-general issued a proclamation, offering the most liberal indemnity to all who should tender an immediate obedience to the Company's authority. The only exceptions to the benefit of this general pardon were the Rajah, Sujan Sing his brother, and Goffe Gunge, a town in which two soldiers had been barbarously murdered during the troubles.

The Vizier Nabob having come to a final understanding, concerning what the governor-general meant his future conduct to the princesses his mother and grand-mother should be, returned to his own country, where the spirit of insurrection continued to rage with unabating violence. The natives, galled by the two-fold servitude to which they were necessarily subjected, from the double government or tyranny under which they groaned, relinquishing their characteristic patience and timidity, and provoked by an incessant repetition of fresh insult, were every where in a state of resistance and despair. The swarms of revenue officers who fastened on every district in Oude, with the

avidity of famine, and the cruelty of our troops, who like the pestilence spread havock and destruction wherever they were stationary, had by this time reduced the most flourishing provinces in India to a desert. In every village the business of exaction, at the point of the dagger, had been daily carried on for years. It had begun with the ryot, the petty earnings of whose indefatigable toil were openly violated with impunity. It alienated the stores of the wealthy, and the heritage of the great. It respected not the privileges of religion, the distinctions of sex, or the prescriptions of rank. The present measures of the Durbar were even in avowed defiance to the will of a prince whose memory the whole kingdom of Oude still regarded with the sincerest reverence. They saw the son and successor of Sujah ul Dowlah, sunk into a mere instrument of oppression against his own parents and kindred, in the hands of foreigners. And their exertions were directed rather against that authority which overwhelmed him than his own. It was now, however, impossible to extricate him from the control of a power so greatly his superior; and his dependence on the Company had become so absolute, that he could no longer act for himself without acting at the same time for them. The commotions therefore, which prevailed in every part of his dominions, supposed a distinction, which he was not at liberty to avow, and pointed to an object, which, as he was then circumstanced, it was at once his duty and his interest

terest to disclaim. The policy under which he acted was on that account to hasten home, that the reviving prosperity of the Company's affairs in the adjacent countries, co-operating with his presence, might have its full effect in facilitating the re-establishment of tranquillity, wherever a disposition to rebel had appeared.

The governor-general, having gone back to Benares, was necessarily occupied for some time in settling the arrangements of a new government. The next lineal heir of Bulwant Sing, Mehiparain, succeeded to the Rajahship. He was a grandson of that popular chief, by a daughter married to Doorgbijey Sing, still under age, and his parents both alive. His father, under the title of Naib, was intrusted with the sole management of the public affairs. The tribute of the zemindary to the Company was more than doubled, two hundred thousand a year clear gain, besides much booty, having accrued to the treasury of Bengal from this revolution.

The tide of success, which has always and eminently attended our affairs in India, began now to swell. In two days after the flight of the Rajah, a strong detachment of sepoy, under the command of Major Crawford, arrived in the camp from Dinapore. Colonel Hannay, who had been reduced on the northern banks of the Dewa to the greatest difficulty, had received the most seasonable and effectual relief from the address of Major Naylor. The multitude who had revolted in that  
country

country were dispersed, and the troubles they occasioned in a great measure began to subside. Futteh Shaw was at the same time driven out of the Sarum circar, where he had maintained for some time a sort of independence, in defiance of all the efforts of government. News of a separate peace and treaty of alliance and friendship having been concluded between Colonel Muir and Sindia, the great Marratto chief, arriving at this moment, sensibly heightened the pleasure so naturally produced by a succession of such fortunate events.

Popham, considerably strengthened by fresh troops, in high spirits from the numerous advantages his forces had obtained in every encounter with the enemy, and excited by the prospect of immense booty, advanced with the army in pursuit of the Rajah to Bedjeygur. It was the envied depositary of his father's treasures, his own, and those of his family. It is situated not far from the frontiers, about fifty miles to the south-east of Chunar. The fort is on the top of a solid rock, which rises in a perpendicular direction seven hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the adjoining countries. Next to the impregnable fort of Gualier, it was universally deemed the strongest in India; but the strength of the one appeared to Cheit Sing no adequate security against the conqueror of the other. He therefore abandoned the fort with precipitation on Popham's approach. Much of his treasure was unavoidably left behind, with his women, his mother, and his wife, who still remained

remained in Bedjeygur with no contemptible garriſon. He took with him, however, above three hundred thouſand pounds in caſh, beſides jewels to an immense value; being, as was alledged, all that the elephants and camels, in his immediate poſſeſſion, were capable of carrying away.

In this manner, and in direct violation of all the moſt ſacred engagements, by which nations and men are bound together or united in reciprocal obligation, did Mr. Haſtings accompliſh the expulſion of a prince poſſeſſing all the legal authority of his country, exerciſing all the rights, and performing all the duties of its internal government; who coined money, collected the revenues, adminiſtered juſtice, and even kept up a military force for his own defence. He was ſubject to the governor-general and council, only on certain ſtipulated terms, and on the ſame terms entitled to the protection of their government. And in a variety of treaties, as authentic and explicit as the ordinary forms of human tranſactions can render them, the public faith, at Mr. Haſtings' own immediate inſtance, was ſolemnly pledged, that no future encroachments whatever ſhould, under the Company's authority, be made on his rights. Theſe feeble barriers, however, were ſoon broke down, when the wrath of a deſpot was to be indulged. The Rajah, from the acceſs of his attachment to the Company, on the report of Mr. Haſtings' reſignation, and the acceſſion of a new governor-general to that important ſituation, had prematurely

turely announced his satisfaction in an event, which it was conceived would have then been generally acceptable in India. This was construed into an instance of the greatest personal disrespect at the time, and cherished with assiduity as a most heinous offence, until such an opportunity might offer as it could be resented in a manner the most conspicuous and effectual. In consequence of this petty affront, the Rajah was proscribed, and the sanguinary resolution adopted of selling the Company's sovereignty of Benares to the Nabob of Oude, or dispossessing the Rajah of his territories, or seizing his forts, and plundering them of treasure to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds. And so determined was he in the work of destruction which he had thus projected, that he actually rejected the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, tendered by the Rajah for his redemption, rather than the extremities he meditated should not be literally put in execution.

Measures of severity, adopted without any regard to the fundamental rules of justice or equity, are generally extended in the accomplishment, according to the wild and lawless principle in which they originate. Now that Cheit Sing had relinquished all further opposition to the authority of the governor-general, and finally abandoned the country of Benares, and all the privileges connected with the government of it, that even his adherents began to avail themselves of the pardon offered in the late proclamation, and the turbulence of the  
 insurgents



insurgents was for the most part at an end, it was natural to expect that the passions connected with all these disturbances would have subsided, in proportion as the causes that produced them were removed. He sent, notwithstanding, a body of troops against the castle of Bedjeygur, where the mother of Cheit Sing, his wife, a person of amiable manners and singular worth, and all the other women of the Rajah's family, and that of his father, had fixed their residence. Without attempting to prove, and only pretending that whatever these innocent people possessed was the property of the Rajah, he resolved to involve them in the fate of Cheit Sing, to treat them as rebels, and without accusation or jury, or trial, to force their asylum, and confiscate their treasure. The orders issued for this purpose were cruel and barbarous, as they were peremptory and specific. "If the reports brought to me," says he, "are true, your rejecting her offers, or any negociations with her, would soon obtain you possession of the fort upon your own terms. I apprehend that she will contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable part of the booty, by being suffered to retire without examination. I should be very sorry that your officers and soldiers lost any part of the reward to which they are so well entitled."

Notwithstanding the ardour of the troops and the skill of the officers, the difficulties which attended the siege of Bedjeygur protracted it nearly to the middle of November. By that time they had

had proceeded so far by sap, that a mine was ready to spring, which they hoped would enable them to storm the place. The mother of the Rajah, who possessed the entire command, was consequently induced to surrender the fort by capitulation. The only terms which in these circumstances she could obtain from a mercenary power, flushed with success and eager after treasure, was, to be allowed fifteen per cent. on the effects in the fort, to reside in the country, or follow her son, as she might incline, and in either case to be afforded entire protection.

Even these terms, hard as they were, and granted with a harshness and illiberality, which even the laws of war prohibit among civilized nations, were grossly violated. The women, who resigned themselves with confidence to those officers whose faith was pledged to protect them from insult, were yet abandoned to the search of the soldiery, who used them with incivility and rudeness, and even stript them of their necessaries. This brutality was at least obliquely authorized in a letter from Mr. Hastings to Popham, where he hints his apprehension that these unfortunate women might be treated with an improper excess of delicacy from the gallantry of brave men. How detestable must that government be, in which the softer ties of nature have no protection; where the common victims of cruelty are the innocent, the fair, and the defenceless; and where all those tender con- siderations

derations which have been respected in all societies, and by all the heroes in the world, are insulted, and without effect !

Thus were our forces in full possession of all those riches, which had been so long an object of the strongest solicitude to the governor-general. These however, instead of converting to the purposes of public utility, or applying to the urgent necessities of the state, he was anxious to appropriate reward for those military exertions, by which his personal resentments had been so abundantly gratified. His letter to the commander in chief, during the siege, was construed by the officers on the spot as sufficiently authenticating this disposition of the spoil. It was perhaps not unnatural to prefer on this occasion the desire of the troops to the exigence of the Company, in consequence of executing, in such a masterly manner, a plan of operations which the governor-general had so much at heart. The officers, aware however that even his authority, circumstanced as he now was, might not ultimately realize their expectations, unanimously resolved to distribute on the spot the spoil which fell into their hands. And this resolution, which put the money in their pockets beyond the possibility of a reimbursement, they literally executed the second day after the capture of the fort. The treasure in cash, which was then actually seized, amounted to twenty-five lacks. Great quantities of the richest merchandize, rubies, diamonds, emeralds,

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ralds, and other precious stones, to an immense value, were at the same time secured.\*

The council were far from acquiescing in this distribution of the Rajah's treasure. It was repugnant to their expectations, and indeed to the orders of their superiors. They consequently arraigned it as a measure which might be followed by the worst consequences. The resolutions which they passed on the subject strongly marked their dissatisfaction. These were, that the governor-general had not either formally or by construction disclaimed, as representative of the Company, their right to the booty found in the fort; that the temerity of the officers in appropriating it was a proof that they did not consider themselves sufficiently secure by any other claim; that the acquiescence of government in such a measure might establish a dangerous precedent; and that they could not relinquish the Company's right, but would bring the question to a legal decision. They were, however, desirous that the officers would submit the whole to the decision of the

\* The dividend which took place in the army of this booty, which in cash amounted to three hundred and twelve thousand pounds and upwards, was

To the commander in chief	—————	£. 36750
To each of the majors	—————	5619
To each captain an item more than	—————	3000
To native officers, a very disproportionate share		
To each sepoy		6

-N. B. Two thirds of the cash were at least supposed to be disposed of in this manner,

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board. In that case, it was promised to put the most liberal construction on the letter of the governor-general, which they had urged in their own vindication. It was at the same time recommended that they should accommodate the treasury with a loan, upon the usual terms, of their respective shares, excepting so much as they would declare upon their honour was necessary to supply their personal wants. They were required to give in an answer to this requisition in a given time, and formally apprised that a failure would be considered by the board as a disobedience of orders, and proceeded upon accordingly.

Thus ended the memorable transactions of the governor-general at Benares, in the year 1781. These seem to have been undertaken at the instigation of his own feelings, which he conceived wounded beyond forgiveness by the conduct of this unfortunate prince, and of whose temerity or inadvertence he took this signal vengeance, as an example to all the other great landholders under the Company's government. But if the urgent necessities of the state are to be admitted as an apology for such outrages, it is an instance in point, how very abortive the severities of despotism are; for the Rajah found means to carry away the greatest part of his treasure, and the remainder was immediately converted, by the army, into booty.

## C H A P T E R XII.

*Appearance of a French Fleet before Madras—Pursued, and some of the Convoy captured by Sir Edward Hughes—Partial Fight—The Enemy haul their Wind and are out of Sight in the Morning—The Sultan and Magnanime, from England, join Sir Edward—A bloody Action on the Coast of Ceylon—Consequences of these Actions—Abingdon's Success—Peace concluded with the Marrattos—Hurricanes—Famine—Operations of the Army on the Coast of Malabar—Onore stormed—Hyder's Death—Canara invaded—Discontents in the Army—Mangalore—Panic in Gundapore—General Matthews capitulates—Fate of the General and Officers—The French Auxiliaries refuse to fight against the English—Sir Eyre Coote dies at Madras—Successes in the Coimbatour Country—Last Naval Action between the French and English Fleets—Cessation of Hostilities.*

**W**HILE Mr. Hastings exerted the power of the Company in crushing some of their most valuable dependents in the extremities of Bengal, the French meditated an utter extinction of their interest on the coast of Coromandel. When Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, after taking Trincomale, arrived in the Madras Road, he was informed by Lord Macartney, the governor, that a French fleet, amounting to thirty sail in all, had appeared on the coast, captured several ships, and were then disposed not above twenty leagues to the northward.

ward. Our squadron consisted only of six sail of the line, and had been so long at sea, that the ships were necessarily much out of repair. Their crews were debilitated by sickness, and they required large supplies of fresh provisions. In this condition, and exposed in the open road to the attack of an enemy so greatly superior, the admiral's situation was peculiarly critical. He was, however, fortunately reinforced, on the day following such alarming intelligence, by the arrival of Captain Alms, in the *Monmouth* of 64, accompanied by the *Hero* of 74, and the *Isis* of 50 guns.

Every dispatch was adopted and no time lost for rendering the fleet, in some measure, fit for actual service, or in a state of preparation to meet the enemy. Sir Eyre Coote, with his usual attention and alacrity, supplied the ships with three hundred officers and men. But notwithstanding this expedition, before the equipment was complete, the French fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line, including the English *Hannibal*, and another fifty-gun-ship, six frigates, eight large transports, and six captured vessels, appeared suddenly in offing on the fifteenth of February. M. de Suffrein, who had succeeded to the command on the death of M. de Orves, not knowing till now the accession of strength which the English fleet had just received, and finding he had nine instead of five ships, which he expected to encounter, abandoned his intention of attack; and suddenly weighing anchor, about four in the afternoon, stood off to the southward.

A pursuit on the part of the British instantly took place, which continued all night. It was observed, about day-break, that the enemy were now in separate directions, their twelve line of battle ships, with the frigate, bearing east of the British fleet, and about four leagues distant, while the other frigates with the transports, not more than three leagues a-head, made directly for Pondicherry. The only infallible mode of bringing on an action in these circumstances, was to throw out the signal for a general chase to the south-west, as the French admiral would undoubtedly endeavour to rescue his convoy, and no superiority of number and force could deter Sir Edward from appealing to this issue. Our fleet soon captured six vessels, five of which were English prizes, newly taken, with their crews on board. The sixth was the *Lauriston*, a transport of 1300 tons burthen. Its cargo consisted of a fine train of artillery, intended as a present to Hyder; a large quantity of gunpowder; a complete assortment of other military stores; a number of land officers, and three hundred soldiers, from the regiment of *Lausanne*. The great disadvantage under which the fleet laboured, for want of frigates, was now severely felt. A few of these must have secured the whole of this valuable convoy; most of which, on that account, were abandoned in the very moment, almost, of being captured. For the French fleet, anxious to defeat the success of so masterly a manœuvre, instantly bore down for the preservation of their convoy. This obliged



obliged our admiral to recal his ships, to order the prizes which had been taken for Negapatam, and to make head with all the expedition possible against the enemy. Unequal adverse winds and hazy weather kept the hostile fleets apart for some time, and put the nautical science and acuteness of both commanders sufficiently to the trial. The wind, irregular and uncertain as it seemed, still blew in favour of the enemy; and notwithstanding all the skill, experience and activity of Sir Edward, he was at last forced into action on very disadvantageous terms. Wayward as these circumstances were, he resolutely threw out the signal to form the line of battle a-head. Eight of the enemy's best ships were consequently enabled to direct their whole attack on five of the English, of which the Isis of fifty guns was one. Four of our ablest ships, the Eagle, Monmouth, Worcester, and Burford, under the most approved commanders, were idle spectators in the van, without a possibility of affording the least assistance. The Superbe of seventy-four guns, in which Sir Edward was, formed the central ship. The Hero, of the same force, commanded by Captain Wood; the Isis, Lumley; the Monarca, Gill, of sixty-eight; and Exeter of sixty-four; the latter commanded by Commodore King and Captain Reynolds; were the four below. The Exeter being the sternmost, and a bad sailer, was considerably separated from her second a-head. Three of the enemy instantly bore down upon her, and commenced a furious attack.

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The admiral, in the *Superbe*, was, at the same time, beset with equal vehemence and force. These were the two ships which the enemy seemed chiefly intent to disable. But after sustaining these severe attacks for two hours, and not a little crippled, a squall of wind accidentally blowing fresh in their favour, it became their turn to make the attack. The action was consequently returned with such vigour and effect, that in twenty-five minutes, and just as it began to grow dark, the French ships within their reach, having suffered much damage, suddenly hauled their wind, and the whole squadron stood off to the north-east. The two ships in our fleet, which stood the brunt of the action, were almost reduced to a wreck. A constant and prodigious fire had been poured in upon both, from all directions, during the whole action. Captain Stephens in the *Superbe*, and Captain Keylands in the *Exeter*, two officers of distinguished merit, were killed. We lost thirty-two men, and ninety-five were wounded. Thirty of the former, and eighty-seven of the latter, were in the *Superbe*, the *Exeter*, and the *Hero*. The situation of the *Exeter*, while the bloody conflict continued, was awful and perilous in the extreme. Every fresh broadside was expected to decide her fate. The thunder of the enemy, from three ships of the line closing round her, and taking a steady aim, as at a dead mark, was incessant and tremendous. The cool intrepidity and composure of the commodore, in the midst of a scene thus dreadful, was singularly

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commanding and exemplary. While the fight raged with increasing fury, he was almost blinded by the blood and mangled brains of Captain Reynolds, which were dashed over him by a cannon ball. The master came to him soon after, and asked what he should do with a ship which already was in the most shattered condition, as two of the enemy were already bearing down upon her. "There is nothing to be done," said he, coolly, "but to fight her till she sinks."

Such was the situation to which the *Superbe* and the *Exeter* had been reduced by this encounter, that it was deemed necessary to proceed to Trincomale, where only that damage could be repaired. This business, however, was effected so expeditiously, that the squadron appeared before Madras by the middle of March, without having either heard or seen the enemy. The admiral was returning to Trincomale, with a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of stores for that garrison, when he was joined by the *Sultan* and *Magnanime* ships of war, of seventy four-guns each, from England. Though the crews in both these ships were sickly and scorbutic, anxious to receive and cover the convoy with troops and stores from home, he persevered in his course with an intention of neither seeking nor shunning the enemy. The French, however, knowing of the convoy, and wishing to cut it off, or prevent the junction, appeared also in the north-east quarter, and to leeward of the English, on the eighth of April. Both fleets con-

tinued in this relative position during that and the three following days; but Sir Edward Hughes having reached the coast of Ceylon, about fifteen leagues to windward of Trincomale, bore away directly for that place. This was unfortunate for the English fleet, as the enemy gained the wind in the night, which enabled them to bear down upon our rear in the morning. Sir Edward immediately made a signal for the line of battle a-head, on the starboard tack, two cables asunder, while the enemy were within six miles, and the wind in the same quarter, with time, place, and circumstances all in their favour. Our ships were cramped by a lee-shore, a superior enemy, and an adverse wind. Three hours were spent in manœuvring. Five sail, which composed the enemy's van, stretched forward to engage that of the English, while the admiral, with other seven ships of the line, bore down upon the Superbe, and her two seconds, the Monmouth and Monarca. Two seventy-four-gun ships rushed within pistol-shot of the Superbe, and engaged her with so much fierceness and execution, that the general opinion was, they meant to have boarded and carried her by a coup-de-main. This furious onset lasted about ten minutes, when the French admiral, having received so much damage from the deluge of fire returned by the Superbe, made room for the ships which came to supply his place, and stood on the tack of the Monmouth, which was already equally engaged. The battle raged with inconceivable fierceness,

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particularly in the center, where the English admiral resisted, with the characteristic firmness and intrepidity of a British seaman, superior number and force. The Monmouth at last, about three o'clock, having sustained, with unparalleled fortitude; the united fire, and attack of two ships, the one of equal and the other of superior metal, besides the passing fire of a third, first lost her mizen, and then her main-mast: She accordingly fell out of the line to leeward. The enemy made a desperate effort to carry her off, but were driven back by the prodigious fire of the Monarca and the Sultan. Our admiral was disappointed in expecting the wind, as usual, to change in the afternoon; he was therefore obliged, forty minutes past three, that his ships might not be entagled by the shore, to make a signal for wearing and hauling their wind in a line of battle a-head, and fighting the enemy during the whole evolution. Both fleets seemed equally solicitous for the present to gain anchor. The French admiral had been early obliged to shift his flag; and the La Fine, of forty guns, fell so closely on board the Isis, that she struck her colours to Captain Lumley; though, from the disabled condition of that ship and the darkness of the night, she effected her escape. Indeed the condition of both fleets were so nearly the same, that similar apprehensions were entertained by each of a fresh attack in the morning. The French, however, had not lost any of their lower masts, which was of great advantage in resitting; whereas

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the *Monmouth* could only be repaired in a good harbour, and with new masts.

The two admirals watched the motions of each other for some days. The French on the nineteenth stood out to sea, and made a feint, as if they meant an immediate attack : But, perceiving the situation of the British line, they instantly stood eastward by the wind, and before evening were quite out of fight. The admiral, having refitted the *Monmouth* with jury-masts, proceeded the fourth day after to Trincomale, where the squadron was repaired with the utmost diligence, as their service was become still more urgent than ever. Thus ended one of the most fierce and bloody engagements that happened during the war. The slaughter of men in the *Monmouth* was equal to the havoc of the ship : No less than forty-five were killed, and a hundred and two wounded—a full third of her whole crew ! The masterly conduct of Captain Alms, in a situation thus critical, was peculiarly exemplary. His recollection of this brave action was however embittered by the loss of his son, who, having been made a lieutenant in the admiral's ship, fell the same day, in a noble emulation of his father's bravery. The French fleet proceeded immediately to Batakalo, a Dutch port on the island of Ceylon, where they continued to repair and equip their shattered ships until the month of June. Their loss of men was rated by themselves at one hundred and thirty-nine killed, and three hundred and sixty-four wounded.

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These events, with all the misfortunes that attended them, gave a most advantageous impression of our strength on the continent of India. A sufficient naval force to crush effectually that of the English, excepting some artillery and engineers, was probably all the aid expected or desired by Hyder Ally from the French: His chief solicitude was to annihilate our resources, as he knew every thing must then be at his own disposal. He must consequently have suffered inconceivable mortification to see the French, with so great an apparent superiority in the number of their ships and men, not daring to attack the English, but even pursued by them; a convoy under their protection captured; and, with every possible advantage, effecting only a drawn battle. His hopes of taking Madras, of deposing the Nabob of Arcot, and of placing Tippoo Sultan in possession of the Carnatic, were by these circumstances rendered as remote and improbable as ever.

The blockade of Tellichery, on the Malabar coast, however, still continued, and the strength and number of the enemy increased; but, unequal to a regular siege, were content with closely shutting up the place, and depending on famine or other distress to supply the want of military skill. The few works they erected were fortified by a camp at some distance. Major Abingdon, having arrived from Bombay with a considerable reinforcement of troops, determined to attempt the dislodgement of the enemy, and open a communication of the town with the country. His movements

ments deceived the enemy into such a state of security as considerably facilitated his designs. Having drawn such part of the garrison as could be spared, without notice, into his camp, he surprised and carried their several posts before day on the morning of the eighth of January [1782]. Not allowing a moment for the enemy to recover their confusion, he stormed their camp as soon as it was light, and completely routed them. Sados Cawn, their commander, retired with his family, and a chosen party of his friends and best troops, into a castle scooped on the side of a hill, and possessed of no other walls than such as were formed of the living rock. Notwithstanding a vigorous and manly defence, this brave man and his party were torn from their asylum, though bomb-proof, and made prisoners. These operations produced considerable spoil, consisting of artillery, military stores, and several elephants. The town was relieved, and the coast for several miles on both sides entirely cleared of the enemy. Hyder's possessions on this coast being acquired partly by conquest and partly by fraud, the Nairs, native princes, and nobility, who had suffered severely in an ineffectual struggle for the preservation of their ancient independence, were still exceedingly disaffected to his government. He was consequently much vexed and alarmed at our success in these parts, which were the dearer to him from their vicinity to the rich kingdoms of Canara and Mysore, the great sources of his wealth and power.

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This severe blow was, however, soon and amply retaliated on the southern army. These troops, under the command of Colonel Braithwaite, appear to have been destined for the protection of Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces. Sir Eyre Coote had, early in the year, made every effort in his power to repress, by the presence of the army under his command, the designs of the French and Hyder Ally on the side of Pondicherry. But he was utterly incapable of such a movement by the want of draught cattle and carriages. He was also detained, in some degree, in expecting the result of an application which he had made to the governor-general and council of Bengal, for restoring his authority over the southern troops, that he might be able to direct their co-operation in such a manner as would equally facilitate his own, and counteract the movements of the enemy. Braithwaite encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of the Tanjore kingdom. His forces consisted of two thousand veteran infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and thirteen field pieces. His situation was in an open plain, which must have exposed him exceedingly to the enemy's cavalry; but several large and deep rivers which lay between him and Hyder, who was at a considerable distance, apparently secured him against any surprise. Tippeo Saib, apprised of these circumstances, determined to surmount them, and cut off this detachment as he had done that under Baillie. He was accompanied in this enter-

enterprize by Monf. Lally, and four hundred French. His own forces were twenty thousand strong, one half of whom were cavalry. With this formidable army and twenty pieces of cannon, he suddenly furrounded Braithwaite's corps, which could not be fupposed in any degree prepared to refift a force fo greatly fuperior. The action, notwithstanding, was fierce and tremendous. It commenced on the fixteenth, and was not decided till the eighteenth of February [1782]. During twenty-fix hours of thefe three days, an unre-mitted fire of cannon and fmall arms was fupported on both fides. Neither furprife nor danger were attended with their ufual effects on this gal-lant party or their leader. Their courage and activity never once forfook them; and he, though feverely wounded and bleeding exceffively, would not withdraw from the fcene for a moment. At-tacked with equal vigour from all fides, he threw his detachment into a hollow fquare, with his thir-teen field pieces interperfed in its faces, and his fmall body of cavalry in the center, that he might prefent a front to every attack. Thus were they exhibited in the midft of a large fquare, as a mark, to which the immense army that furrounded them directed an inceffant and univerfal fire. It was in-tended by a violent cannonade on all fides to make a breach in fome part of the line, and then, rufhing impetuously with the cavalry, to complete the confufion that circumftance would occafion. But all the vigour and address of the enemy were inca-pable

pable of making any impression on the English sepoy, who withstood such exertions in the aspect of inevitable destruction, as would have put the constancy and the discipline of the best European troops to the test. Not valuing the number of lives he might sacrifice to the success of an enterprize so grateful to his ambition, and expecting his cavalry to break in at some point or other, Tippoo led them repeatedly and with the greatest ardour to the charge. They advanced with fury, but received such powerful showers of grape and musquetry shot as destroyed them by shoals. The British cavalry from the square, rallying at that moment, pursued them with heavy and unresisted execution to a proper distance, and then returned to their former stations. On the third day, after the numbers of these brave men were greatly thinned, the survivors worn down with wounds and fatigue, and Tippoo Saib's intention of trampling down our infantry was so effectually defeated, that no possible means could bring his cavalry to the resolution of ever making one charge up to the lines, M. Lally, at the head of his four hundred Europeans, marched with fixed bayonets to the attack of that side which was most exposed, or seemed the weakest. He was supported by several battalions of the enemy's best infantry, and flanked by prodigious numbers of cavalry, while their whole artillery poured in fresh columns of fire upon each of the other three faces, which at the same time were respectively menaced with dreadful bodies of horse,

horse, prepared to rush in upon them the moment any change in their position took place. Our exhausted sepoys in that front, unable to repulse the vigorous onset of such a body of Europeans coming fresh into action, and confident of success from the vast army that supported them, were instantly broken, and the carnage that ensued by the fury and rapidity of the cavalry was excessive. Lally lost not a moment in putting a stop to the effusion of blood, by issuing orders which his own corps readily obeyed. The ferocity of the natives rendered them less tractable, five of whom were said to have fallen by his own hand, in an attempt to restrain their barbarous impetuosity. No sooner was the dreadful slaughter at an end, than he prevailed upon Tippoo Saib to intrust him with the charge of the prisoners. They were treated, especially the officers and wounded, with a generosity which is the inseparable companion of legitimate courage; and his humanity in the field was even surpassed by his kind attentions in the camp to the men whom only his gallantry could subdue. The best soldiers and the bravest men are ever the most merciful. In this catastrophe, we lost many an excellent officer; and of the whole who were present, one only escaped without a wound. They lost every thing but their honour, and were destined to suffer the miseries of a long and cruel imprisonment in the capital of Mysore.

All the countries to the southward were now laid open to the designs of the enemy, while the movements

ments of the English general northward were not only closely watched by Hyder's main army, but exceedingly impeded for want of much necessary military apparatus. During this state of imbecility on the one side, and vigorous activity on the other, the first division of that great force, which under the Marquis de Bussy was intended for the subversion of the English power in India, were, some time in the month of March, disembarked by Suffrein at Pondicherry. These soon effecting a junction with a considerable body of Hyder's forces, the combined army marched in full confidence to besiege Cuddalore. And Captain Hughes, the commander, found himself under a necessity of capitulating on the eighth of April. Permacoil soon shared the same fate, and the whole of the enemy's forces, under the direction of Hyder in person, pointed their march towards Vandewash. It was now that Sir Eyre Coote expected to have met the enemy in the field. His movements originated in that conviction: And he possessed himself, without delay, of the strongest position he could select, for the protection of so important a fortress. Deceived in this conclusion, he determined to seek him on his own ground, not suspecting it possible that the enemy, thus strongly reinforced, could submit to the pursuit of so inferior an army. In this opinion he pushed on two days march to Hyder's camp, who was not however to be surprised from the strictest adherence to that wary system he had now adopted. He therefore secured his retreat to a post

to the red hills, which he well knew could not be attacked with any probability of success. His magazines were at the same time deposited in the strong fort of Arnee, and the general conceived a movement towards that place might tempt the enemy to relinquish his caution for the safety of his stores. This scheme, on a consultation with the officers of the army, was approved and adopted. The army marched for Arnee, and encamped within five miles of it. Hyder rushed from the hills like a torrent, to rescue a place which contained the means of carrying on the war. This sudden irruption of the enemy commenced before our troops could reach their destination; and it then became a question, whether they should proceed, or prefer another direction, and fight the enemy in their way. The former seemed the most eligible mode for bringing on an action. Much as the means of information were impeded by the rapid movements of Hyder's cavalry, who in various bodies occupied all the surrounding grounds, galloping to and fro in every direction, a distant cannonade in their rear announced the enemy's approach as the van of our army had reached Arnee. Our troops possessed a low situation. The enemy seized all the high circumjacent grounds. This circumstance exposed the English to great inconvenience in forming. The general however displayed his usual ability in making such dispositions as remedied every defect in the position of the army, and tended to bring the enemy to a close and decisive

sive action. It was noon before he reduced their various attacks to such a point, as the whole of his force could bear upon them with effect. He then advanced with an ardour which routed the enemy in every quarter. The pursuit continued till night. The advantages of this victory, like those of others, were once more lost for want of cavalry. Some subsequent attempts were made to bring Hyder to meet our troops in the field, in this neighbourhood, but without effect. A body of his cavalry, however, found means to draw our main guard into an ambuscade, where they were entirely cut off, before any assistance could reach them. The general thought it necessary to fall back, that the army might be supplied with provision.

This battle, which was fought on the second of June [1782], was the last in which these two great men were destined to meet. The health of both was greatly impaired, from the fatigue to which they were exposed by the present war. The circumstances in which Hyder was involved were peculiarly gloomy and foreboding. The English interest, which he conceived to be an insuperable obstacle to all his ambitious projects, was still likely to triumph. His expectations from the French were frustrated. He foresaw his own destruction in the peace, which was nearly accomplished between the government of Bengal and the Marratto states. These powers, with whom he had alternately been in a state of hostility for so long a

time, would inevitably proscribe him, and mutually stipulate a participation of his dominion. Such a series of mortifying reflections as these circumstances must have suggested, to a mind goaded by ambition and accustomed to success, naturally filled him with chagrin. And it was a prospect which he had not sufficient firmness to contemplate with serenity, that he was destined to become a sacrifice at last to the union of two powers, who had both suffered so exceedingly from his enmity. By the ill health of Sir Eyre Coote, and the absence of Sir Hector Monro, who had returned to Europe, the command devolved on Major-general Stuart. Both armies, from the ruinous state of the country, were obliged to draw their supplies from other quarters. This greatly impeded the war; though Hyder felt but little inconvenience, from the contiguity of his dominions: He could not, however, be tempted any more to a general engagement. The remainder of the campaign, which consisted of laborious marches, and fruitless experiments to ensnare the enemy, was concluded without accomplishing any enterprize of importance.

Suffrein was now returned from Batacalo to the coast of Coromandel, and proceeded to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their chief magazine of arms and military stores, both for land and sea service. His ships being revictualled and recruited with fresh men, he determined to destroy the English before the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton, who, with several ships of war, had long  
failed



failed from England, and was ardently expected at Madras. The French fleet still preserved their former superiority of twelve ships to eleven, besides heavy frigates. All possible means had been used to prepare them in the best manner for immediate action. They were reinforced with four hundred French, and as many sepoy, at Cuddalore; and, on Sir Edward Hughes' arrival in the road, they touched at Negapatam, and were further recruited by three hundred artillery-men, the most effective aid they could receive. Our fleet was not backward to meet the enemy, who, confiding in their superiority, challenged Sir Edward before Negapatam, with eighteen ships. The English admiral was so perfectly ready, and so little disposed to admit any delay, that by three o'clock he weighed anchor, and, putting out to sea, stood southward during the evening and the night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy. He succeeded in his evolutions for this purpose, and immediately gave signals for every ship in his fleet to bear directly down upon her opposite in the French line. His orders were executed with promptitude. The French commenced firing before eleven. Our ships reserved their fire till certain of its taking effect. By half past twelve the enemy's line appeared in great disorder, and several of their ships extremely shattered. At this crisis, a sudden shift of wind snatched the French squadron from the ruin that impended. Our line was deranged by the circumstance which preserved

them. By this contingency, the advantage of a victory so decisive could not be prosecuted. The disabled, broken, and flying enemy were enabled to recover themselves, while their conquerors were reduced to a state of the greatest confusion. After much manœuvring, and the continuation of a partial engagement between such parts of the two fleets as came within reach of each other, the English admiral made the signal for the line of battle a-head, and was preparing, at half past one o'clock, to renew the attack; but seeing, at two, the enemy standing in shore, and collecting their ships in a close body, while his were much dispersed, and several of them ungovernable, he relinquished that design, and thought only of getting into such a condition as should prove decisive to the service next morning. Then, however, the French were observed under sail, on their way to Cuddalore, while our fleet was utterly incapable of preventing or pursuing them. They owed almost every advantage on this occasion to their frigates. It was at the same time obvious, from the event of this battle, that, had the two former been general, and all the English ships brought fairly up at once to the encounter, the result of both had been very different. Indeed the first night by that means have proved so decisive as entirely to have prevented the second. Seventy-seven men were killed, and two hundred and thirty-three wounded, in our fleet. The French had near two hundred killed, and above six hundred wounded. Among the brave officers, as well of the 98th regiment

regiment as of the naval department, who were slain, Captain Maclelan, of the *Superbe*, was shot through the heart, in the beginning of the action. Thus were the admiral's two immediate captains both killed within a short time of each other.

While the French repaired their ships at Cuddalore, our fleet kept the sea to the windward of Negapatam for near a fortnight. The situation of the army in all probability had at that time some effect on the admiral's movements, and certain schemes of co-operation might render it necessary for the squadron to remain stationary. The damage which the shipping had received in the late actions was great, and required immediate repair. A supply of ammunition and provision was also become indispensable. To effect these purposes, the admiral arrived at Madras the twentieth of July, and was joined by the *Sceptre* of six-four guns, which had left England with Sir R. Bickerton: But parting with him soon after, she had made all the expedition in her passage possible. Anxious for the preservation of Trincomale, Sir Edward immediately dispatched the *Monmouth* and the *Sceptre* with such reinforcements, and supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions, as appeared adequate to repel any desultory attempts which the enemy should think proper to make upon the place.

Mean while the *Sieur d' Aymar* arrived at *Point de Gallis*, lying on the south side of the island of Ceylon, in the *St. Michael* of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the *Illustre* of seventy-four. He had

under his convoy the second division of the Marquis de Bussy's troops and artillery. Suffrein, apprised of this circumstance, joined them at that island on the first of August. So difficult were the means of information at that time, notwithstanding an army in the field, garrisons every where in our interest, and the country substantially our own, that the news of this material occurrence only reached Madras by accident. Captain Mitchel in the Coventry frigate of thirty-two guns, cruising on the coast of Ceylon, encountered the Bellona of forty. The engagement continued two hours and a half, and was sustained with great bravery on both sides, till the Bellona thought proper to decline further contest by an endeavour to escape. Mitchel pursued her with such eagerness, that he soon found himself in the midst of a French fleet of twenty-three sail, at the same time that he knew not before of any such armament in these seas. He was the first to announce the intelligence to the admiral, who, anxious to disappoint the designs of the enemy against Trincomale, hastened his departure for Ceylon, with all the dispatch in his power. But adverse weather exceedingly retarded his progress. The French proceeded with alacrity to the attack of this important fortress. The expedition was performed with rapidity. They instantly landed their troops on the twenty-eighth of August. Their batteries were opened in two days, and the guns from the garrison were soon silenced.

Next

Next morning the place was formally summoned to surrender. The terms allowed the garrison were such as proved the apprehensions entertained by the enemy of a visit from Sir Edward Hughes. He arrived off Trincomale on the second of September, just as the French had secured their new acquisitions. Their colours were then flying on all the forts, and above thirty sail riding in all the bays. Of these there were fifteen ships of the line, including three fifties. Ten or eleven were frigates or fire ships, and the rest transports. They had, therefore, besides three fifties, twelve ships of sixty-four guns and upwards, to oppose to the British line of the same number, in which the Isis of fifty guns was destined to grapple with one of their sixty-fours. The English might well have avoided an engagement under these circumstances, but the whole squadron was fired with indignation by the unexpected fall of Trincomale. After much hesitation on the part of the enemy, and the exertion of consummate skill on our's, the action commenced on the third of September. The French began to fire upon the English about half past two o'clock. The compliment was returned within a few minutes, and the engagement soon became general. The enemy's additional ships attacked with great ardour the extremities of our line, though the ships occupying these stations were already closely and equally engaged. The Worcester was severely pressed, but she made a gallant defence; and the Monmouth, by a dreadful and well-aimed fire, completely

pletely accomplished her rescue. The van, by the same means, was equally exposed as the rear, to the furious attack of superior numbers. Five of the enemy's ships fell down in a cluster upon the Exeter and Isis. The first of these ships seems to have been destined to fight against the greatest odds. She was so disabled in this dreadful contest as to retire from the line, while the weak and forlorn Isis was abandoned to run the gauntlet under the successive fire of several ships, before she could in any degree be supported. The center divisions on both sides were in the mean time closely engaged ship to ship, and the rival commanders in the Superbe and the Heros exhausted their rage against each other. The French admiral's second a-stern, at half past three o'clock, had her mizen-mast shot away; and, nearly about the same time, his second a-head lost both her fore and mizen-top-masts. The battle continued with equal fierceness and obstinacy, through every part of the lines, till half past five, when the wind shifted suddenly from the south-west to the east-south-east. Sir Edward Hughes then made the signal for wearing, and the evolution took place with the greatest facility and expedition. The French were either wearing or staying their ships until the English renewed the engagement on the other tack with redoubled violence. The Hero lost her main-mast at twenty minutes past six, and her mizen-mast soon after. The main-top-mast of the Worcester was shot away about the same time. It was about seven o'clock when the body of the  
French

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French squadron hauled their wind to the southward. They were exposed, and received a most severe fire from the rear of the English line, for twenty minutes after. They then got clear off, and the action entirely ceased.

No battle at sea was ever better fought; and it terminated a series of naval engagements, which for ardour, obstinacy and gallantry of enterprize, have not been exceeded in any part of the world. Perhaps there is no instance of the same men and the same ships meeting so often, and fighting so desperately, in so short a space of time. The darkness of the night, and the proximity of Trincomale, did not permit any pursuit of the enemy, though in fact our fleet were in no condition for such service. By day-light next morning the French were entirely out of sight. Our loss of men was so small as to be almost incredible. We had only fifty-one killed and not quite three hundred wounded. Three officers of distinguished merit, Captains Wood of the Worcester, Watt of the Sultan, and Lumley of the Isis, were among the slain. Other brave men, belonging to the 78th and 98th regiments, fell at the same time, and not a few were wounded. Colonel Fullerton, and several excellent officers, with the men under their command, deserve peculiar praise for their exertions during the whole of this very severe and trying service. The naval officers through the whole fleet were emulous only in excelling each other. They acted with a harmony, an

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ardour and a promptitude, which, on every occasion, did honour to the discipline of the navy.

The French took shelter in the road of Trincomalee that very night; and such was the precipitation of their flight from the scene of action, that the *L'Orient* of seventy-four guns, one of their best ships, was lost in the act of getting in: Four hundred and twelve of their men were killed, six hundred and seventy-six wounded. The crew of the *Heros*, at the beginning of the engagement, amounted to twelve hundred in number. Of these no less than one hundred and forty-seven were killed, and two hundred and forty wounded! a carnage seldom equalled, except in the cases of burning or blowing up. On this occasion, six French captains were broke and sent prisoners to the *Mauritius*.

During the dreadful conflict, which raged equally by sea and land in the southern extremities of India, the council-general of Bengal laboured, with incessant assiduity and the most consummate address, to obtain a separate peace with the *Marrattos*. The ruin of the *Carnatic*; the uncertain issue of the war with *Hyder Ally*; the fresh and formidable accession of strength which now co-operated with our former enemies against us, in consequence of a new scene of hostilities both with *France* and *Holland*; and the enormous and increasing expenditure, indispensable to an effective struggle for existence under all these embarrassing circumstances; controlled that turbulent spirit of ambition which had brought our interest in that country to a situation



sion of the most imminent hazard, and rendered the superior government as anxious for the return of peace as it had formerly been for the commencement of war.

Moodajee Sindia had given early and repeated proofs of a strong predilection for the English. It was at his instance the release of the Bombay army, which had been captured at Worgaum, was so generously ordered, that the Poonah ministers had shewn, all along, such a strong inclination to settle all our differences with the Durbar, rather in the cabinet than the field; and that their hostilities against us had been carried on throughout with so much moderation, under the most grievous provocations. These favourable dispositions were cherished by the council of Calcutta, with such eagerness and effect, that a separate peace had been negotiated and concluded with this chief, by Colonel Muir, about the latter end of 1781. The success of a treaty, thus seasonable and important, pointed out Moodajee as the most likely instrument of restoring harmony between the English and the Marratto states. His immense territorial dominions which he held of the Marratto empire by a loose feudal tenure; his characteristic respectability from personal honour; his very powerful connections in that division of the empire; and especially his predominant influence in the decisions of the Durbar, qualified him, in an eminent degree, for carrying on and bringing to a conclusion this important negotiation.

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It was at a town called Salbey, where Sindia had his head quarters, that this celebrated treaty was signed, on the 17th of May [1782]. The business was transacted, on our part, by Mr. Anderson, with great address, and to whose indefatigable attention and persevering vigilance and ability, in urging and supporting our various claims, we owe the many important advantages which distinguish this peace. . . . All places taken by the English since the treaty of Poorunder, from the Marrattos, were to be restored within two months. Salsette and the adjoining islands, with Broach and its territories, were ceded to the English for ever. A claim upon a contiguous district, formerly promised as a mark of friendship to the English, was now, at the particular request of Sindia, relinquished. The two Gujacars were to be placed exactly in the situation they occupied before the war, their territories to be subjected to all former tributes and services to the Peishwa, and no retrospection taken of their conduct, nor any demands made for the time past. Ragoa was allowed four months to determine the place of his future residence, and the English prohibited from affording him any protection or money. He had the choice of residing with Sindia; and the Peishwa was bound to allow him an annual pension of three lacks. Thus circumstanced, Ragoa was reduced to the necessity of relinquishing and revoking all territories, or grants of territories, made by him to the English. The Marrattos at the same time engaged that Hyder Ally should surrender

surrender whatever he had taken from the Company and their allies during the war; and that a mutual exchange of prisoners should take place. By the performance of these conditions, and so long as Hyder should preserve them inviolate, the English were bound to act in no respect hostilely against him. The Peishwa even stipulated, for himself and the whole Marratto people, that no other European nation should establish factories in any part of their dominions, or be a party in any system of intercourse or friendship whatever with the Durbar, or any individual chief or tributary of the empire. The English in return renounced all right to afford the least assistance to any power in the Deccan at enmity with the Peishwa. In a subsequent article, the contracting powers mutually agreed, that neither should contribute to the aid of whoever might be in a state of hostility with the other; that the allies on both sides should be included in the benefits, and bound by the conditions of this treaty; and that the principals only should be responsible for the conduct of all the subordinate members under their respective authority.

Sindia was the mutual guarantee of the peace, and in that respect pledged for the fidelity of both parties. He was thus specifically and solemnly bound, in case of any violation or infraction of the terms now reciprocally adopted, to assist the injured in procuring adequate redress. Like all other statesmen, Sindia, in the part he acted on this occasion, was not inattentive to his own interest. The city  
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of Broach, with all its valuable territories, which yield an annual revenue of two hundred thousand pounds, was, by private or separate agreement, ceded to him and his family for ever, by the English. Such an immense accession of dominion and treasure facilitated his aggrandizement in the empire, and increased his influence to such a degree, as may occasion further revolutions in that unsettled and precarious government. And, from the length of time that elapsed before the ratification was effected, notwithstanding the remonstrances both of the governor-general and Sindia, it is plain the measure was not completed without considerable difficulties at the court of Poona. Nana Furnese and Sindia are evidently at the head of the two parties, which by their union govern, or by their dissention may convulse the empire. A jealousy, originating in so much co-ordinate power, must of consequence subsist between them. And it is not improbable that the extensive acquisitions, which Sindia obtained by this treaty, had already chagrined and disgusted his powerful and wary rival.

The English fleet, after the action of the third of September, returned with all the expedition they could to Madras, where the admiral intended to stay no longer than while the ships could be hastily repaired, and such a stock of fresh water and provisions procured as might supply them during their passage to Bombay. Before these purposes could be accomplished, the fleet was destined to sustain one of the most tremendous hurricanes that ever happened

pened on that coast. It was fortunate that they anchored in water fifteen fathom deep, and that the tempest blew from the shore. They instantly parted their cables, and put out to sea. The shore for several miles was a complete wreck, interspersed with shocking spectacles of dead bodies. The howling of the tempest; the roaring of the sea, and the cries of such as struggled hard for life, were dreadful and affecting beyond description. Many English trading vessels, of which the Earl of Hertford Indiaman was one, were either sunk at anchor, or dashed in pieces on the shore. Not less than a hundred coasters perished in this manner. Such as had not been suddenly overwhelmed, but got out to sea, for the most part escaped. A very few had even the good fortune to brave and ride out the storm.

At this moment a famine raged in Madras, and every part of the Carnatic; and, by the tempest now described, all foreign resources, that depended on an intercourse by sea, were at an end. Already had the rice ships, since their arrival on the coast, been severely pillaged by the French; and the town of Madras was reduced to great hardships by the want of that article. A considerable supply had reached the harbour previous to the hurricane, but most of the vessels were lost before they could discharge their cargoes. Money could now procure no relief, where the necessaries of life did not exist. The roads, the outlets, and even the streets, were every where choked up with  
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heaps of dead, and crowds of the dying. Two hundred at least of the natives perished every day in the city and suburbs: Others had some resource in animal food: But the miserable Hindoos, in this afflicting exigency, were greatly distinguished by peculiar fortitude and resignation; who, rather than preserve life at the expence of their laws, religion, and customs, endured the most exquisite torment without murmur or complaint. The alms of the settlement were certainly liberal. All was done which private charity could do. But it was a whole people in beggary; a nation who stretched out its hand for food. Of all the calamities which beset and way-lay the life of man, this plague of hunger comes the nearest to our hearts, and is that in which the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is! Supplies were dispatched from Bengal with more expedition than was even expected. But, notwithstanding all the laudable diligence exerted in the godlike work of humanity and beneficence on that mournful occasion, for eighteen months did this destruction rage from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore! All this time these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of our severest fasts, silent, patient, resigned without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished in such multitudes, in the very granary of India, that above ten thousand of the natives were  
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supposed to have been swept away by this scourge of nations!

Our fleet in the mean time had suffered most extreme distress in sailing round for Bombay. For a whole month no two ships of the squadron had been able to speak with each other. Such was the condition of the *Superbe*, that the admiral was obliged to shift his flag to the *Sultan*. It was not until nearly the latter end of December that our shattered ships arrived at Bombay. The crews were all sickly, but soon recovered. Sir Richard Bickerton now made his appearance at Madras from Bombay, without having either experienced any ill weather or seen a single ship belonging to the fleet. He had under convoy three regiments of infantry of one thousand men each, of which one was Hanoverian, besides Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, amounting to three hundred and forty, and a thousand recruits, which had been raised for the Company's service in Ireland. The ships were five in the line, and in excellent condition, and both seamen and troops uncommonly healthy. Sir Richard instantly returned to Bombay, that he might join the admiral, and, without encountering any adverse winds whatever, arrived even some weeks before him.

The French, from the possession of Triscomale, enjoyed in some degree the sovereignty of these seas, and in the absence of the British fleet considerably hampered and embarrassed the coasting trade;

trade, both of the Company and the natives. They afterwards proceeded to Achen, on the coast of Sumatra, probably for the acquisition of such supplies as could not be obtained in Ceylon. The mighty armament from France, containing the last division of De Buffy's troops, five thousand men, several fresh ships of war, an ample supply of naval and military stores, and a train of artillery the most formidable and complete that ever was sent to India, was at the same time expected. And no doubt was entertained, but, by such a powerful reinforcement, the tide of war would be immediately and effectually turned against the English.

In consequence, however, of our peace with the Marrattos, it was resolved to create such a diversion on the Malabar coast, as would probably impel Hyder to abandon the Carnatic for the protection of his own dominions. Colonel Humberstone, at the head of a considerable detachment both of the King and Company's forces, was immediately dispatched on this service, and soon gained possession of the ancient and royal capital of Calicut. Quitting the sea coast, he probably now bent his course towards the frontiers of the Coimbatour country. He encountered many difficulties, but captured in his march a great number of such small forts as are placed in that part of India for guarding the narrow passes and deep defiles which abound in these mountainous regions. Having taken and garrisoned Mungarry Cottah, a fort so strongly situated as to afford a secure retreat, he advanced to



to the siege of Palacatcherry, a place of more consideration and strength than any he had yet attacked. This object, however, from the appearance of the enemy, he was suddenly compelled to abandon. He was even pursued and attacked with such fury and effect, that, besides the number of men who fell, he lost both his baggage and provisions. Major Hutchinson of the 98th regiment was mortally wounded.

The presidency of Bombay being now liberally supplied with money from Bengal, for giving vigour and dispatch to the measures in that quarter, and apprehensive that Humberstone's situation might be perilous, dispatched General Matthews, with such troops as could then be mustered, to his assistance. Tippoo Saib had in the mean time, with incredible celerity and address, arrived from the Carnatic, with the express intention of destroying the British detachment at Mungarry Cottah. But the colonel, receiving intelligence of the enemy's intention, immediately razed the fortification, and retreated to Ramgarree, which Tippoo's rapid approach forced him to abandon with precipitation. In two days, and not without some risk from parties of the enemy's horse, who harrassed our march exceedingly, he reached Panian on the twentieth of November.

Here Colonel Macleod was just arrived from Madras, and the command of the forces of course devolved on him. The detachment was suddenly invested by the enemy, consisting of eight thousand

regular infantry, some hundreds of Europeans, six thousand of the native militia, under the poligars, and a body of ten thousand horse. They were headed by Tippoo Saib and Monf. Lally. Our troops were strongly posted, and with indefatigable industry and great art had improved the old by a great variety of new works. The enemy's cannonade, though kept up for several days, did little execution. The British commander attempted to surprize Tippoo's camp. The enterprise, however, was suddenly relinquished, as impracticable, both from the vigilance and number of the enemy. A few days afterwards, a vigorous and well-concerted attack was made on the British lines. But the enemy, who employed their whole European force on this desperate service, were every where repulsed with the greatest gallantry. Two hundred of their dead were abandoned to the care of the English; and the French officer, who led up one of the columns to the attack, was taken prisoner.

Tippoo's repassing the river Panian was a proof of the defeat. A state of inaction succeeded on both sides for some days. In the night of the eleventh of December, Tippoo suddenly decamped, and marched back with rapidity for the Carnatic. General Matthews, apprised of this circumstance, instantly changed his intended route down the coast, and directed his march to those valuable territories of the enemy which appeared the most vulnerable and remote from succour. He therefore advanced with the fleet and forces to the  
river

river Mirjoe, which falls into the sea eighty miles south of Goa, and five leagues north of Oore. This city lies midway between Pania and Bombay, and nearly three hundred miles distant from both. The general directed his course towards this important place. All the troops that could be spared from the defence of other posts on that extensive coast were ordered to meet him here, and assist in his intended operations. Macleod, who had been recently reinforced by some troops from Bombay, embarked as many as the transports could receive, with whom he proceeded, under convoy of the Isis and the Juno, to join the general. The two other regiments of Sepoys only were left at Tellicherry, in readiness to proceed with the elephants and draught bullocks, under convoy of the African man of war, as soon as other vessels should arrive for their conveyance. Prior, however, to the junction of the troops, Oore had fallen into our hands, and the most memorable circumstance of the capture was the dreadful slaughter which took place, of all sexes, ages, and orders, as well as of the garrison. The governor, and above a thousand men, were made prisoners. The defence could not be great, as no regular troops of the enemy were within reach to lend any assistance, when the attack was made. We have no authentic accounts of the spoil, though it is conjectured to be very great, and to have occasioned that disgust among the British officers, which afterwards proved of the worst consequences to the army in general.

The time, place, and other circumstances of Hyder Ally's death, are not ascertained with any degree of certainty. He probably died about the end of 1782. It was, for many reasons, a matter of the greatest importance to keep so interesting an event concealed, at the precise crisis when it happened. And the moment the secret was discovered, no one thought of detailing circumstantially what had been so long known to all such as were most interested in the consequences. His character for enterprise, for system in conduct, for firmness in difficulty, and for moderation in success, was, in some degree, new in India. He possessed a genius, which embraced at once all the multifarious objects of government and war. The policy necessary to the arrangements of the one and the stratagem of the other he digested, and applied as emergencies arose, or contingencies took place, with equal dexterity, simplicity and success. The resumption of the ancient Mahomedan empire was among his earliest conceptions; and perhaps to this magnificent prospect all his subsequent exertions, conquests, and regulations, were directed. He wished, in order to the accomplishment of this splendid and interesting revolution, to reduce the Europeans in the various parts of the continent to their original state of merchants and factors; to form his military on a system of mechanical and scientific operation; and to create such an invincible navy as should protect forever the coasts, in every part of the continent, from  
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all the invasions and insults of foreigners: He acted with so much equity and mildness, that no prince was ever more popular in his own dominions; he commanded so ably one of the most numerous armies that ever took the field, that no general was ever regarded with higher veneration, or obeyed with greater promptitude and zeal. He was seldom deceived in his politics as a statesman, or cruel to his captives as a conqueror: He blended, with the authority and sagacity of the magistrate, the virtues of humanity; and, in all the plenitude of power, never forgot that he was a man. He rewarded merit magnificently, but punished every species of perfidy with exemplary severity. He fulfilled the conditions of his friendships and engagements with rigid punctuality: In his enmities, as the case of the Company demonstrates, he avowed the influence of every passion which contributed to prompt, facilitate, or accomplish his revenge.

The presidency of Bombay had ordered General Matthews, on supposition of Hyder's death, to use all his exertions in penetrating the Bednore or Canara country; and particularly to gain possession of the capital, where the treasures of Hyder were said to be deposited. He accordingly proceeded further down the coast; and, pursuing the line of conduct proposed, stormed the town of Cundapore, without any material loss or difficulty. He represented, at the same time, however, in his dispatches, the utter impracticability of executing the plan suggested to him. This despondency on his part produced

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produced much dissatisfaction and chagrin on that of the presidency, who had indulged the most sanguine expectations from his success, under circumstances thus favourable to their inclinations. They preserved, however, such a deference for his opinion, that they relaxed their former orders, and in their new instruments, which they immediately dispatched, left the prosecution of any such enterprise, as they had formerly mentioned, entirely to his own discretion. But at the very time he had thus earnestly remonstrated against the orders of his employers, it seems to have been his determination to put them literally in execution.

It is a pity the subsequent part of this campaign cannot be obliterated from human remembrance. All correspondence for the moment was suspended, as all ideas of responsibility seem to have been forgotten. The same atrocious principles, which stained with indelible infamy the flag of Onore, marked the future progress of the army, until the imprecations of injured innocence were signally realized in the destinies that awaited them.

Of facts which have not transpired no distinct narrative can be given; but of many cruelties not related there can be little doubt, from the nature of such as are well authenticated. It was expected by the government of Bombay, that the subjects of Tippoo Sultan would be eager to revolt on hearing of his father's death. This idea was surely either not adopted or not understood by the army; for the surprising, surrounding, and **sur-**  
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creasing crowds of unmilitary poligars at their posts; without pity or remorse, are among the exploits of this war, which we find related with the same indifference in which they probably happened. The fortress of Aumampore was taken by storm. The governor's mode of defence had not pleased the besiegers. The garrison were so entirely massacred, that only one horseman is said to have escaped, desperately wounded. In this havock might be seen four hundred beautiful women, bleeding with the wounds of the bayonet; and others expiring, while the soldiers, in brutal tumult, stript them of their jewels, and committed every outrage on their bodies. But such objects as these are of a species too horrid to be detailed or described!

By a lucky concurrence of circumstances, which sometimes connect that success with temerity which is due only to prudence and foresight, a party, consisting of the Bombay company of Europeans, and between three and four hundred sepoys, dispatched on the desperate and important service of forcing a pass or defile about eight feet wide, three miles in length, and strongly fortified, were fortunate enough to dispossess the enemy, who left five hundred of their killed and wounded behind, and the English masters of the place. Thus were the barriers of this rich and beautiful country effectually thrown down, and a free communication opened between the sea coast and the kingdom of Canara, where Hyder's favourite palace stood;  
where

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where the principal officers of his government resided; whither all the nobility in every quarter of his dominions resorted; where his chief Haram was established; where his treasures, and every other thing on which he had set his heart, were deposited. The capital of this ancient independent kingdom, in which a long illustrious race of sovereigns, who placed their only glory in the happiness of a flourishing, faithful, free and contented people, lived and died among their subjects, like a father or patriarch in the midst of his family, was formerly called Bednore, but had of late changed its name to Hyder Nagur, or the royal city of Hyder, a name which the English did not then admit, and which they hoped to have utterly abolished. Such was the splendour, magnificence and extent of this sequestered metropolis, that some of its principal streets ran nearly in a right line six English miles in length, while its magnitude was utterly lost in the infinite variety of beauties both of nature and art, in which it abounded. The inhabitants chiefly consist of the great and the wealthy, who occupy the most sumptuous houses and spacious gardens, inclosing vast reservoirs of water and every other luxury, which the soil, the climate and the season can afford. Christianity, so congenial to the most polished state of society, had early found its way, by the pious assiduity of the Portuguese, to this elegant retreat, and still flourished so much, that above thirty thousand  
Christians



Christians were said, at this time, to be within the walls of Bednore.

Hyat Saib, a native, was intrusted with the government of this valuable town; and, from his absolute incapacity to withstand the efforts of such a force as now appeared against it, he resolved to risk nothing but his own honour in its safety. The moment our army had stormed the gates, or scaled the mountains which hid and defended the country, he dispatched agents to the camp with terms of accomodation. A private treaty then took place between him and the general, the particulars of which, in a great measure, are still unknown. Its leading articles are supposed to have been, that the capital, the country, the fortrefs at Bednore, the public treasures and property, were to be delivered up to the English; that the inhabitants were not to be molested either in their persons or property; and that Hyat Saib was to continue in the government, with the same powers he enjoyed under Hyder. These conditions were, however, infringed the moment the army got possession of the place, which was early in February 1783. The governor was flung into prison, and the inhabitants were much alarmed. Fourteen lacks were found in the Durbar, which the general shewed to the officers, and declared to be the property of the army. There was much more treasure and jewels not exposed, but the breach between Hyat Saib and the general being made up, the former claimed the whole as his own private property, to whom, upon  
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that plea, it was even restored by the latter. This management, which had already been practised at Onore, the officers resented with indignation. Some of these were carried to Hyat Saib, who made the army a present of twenty thousand pounds, which rather increased than quashed the suspicions entertained of this mysterious transaction. Nor was this the only or most disgusting circumstance in the general's conduct. He had the misfortune to give a rash decision in a point of etiquette between the King's officers and those of the Company, which obliged Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with Major Shaw, to quit the army soon after the taking Bednore.

During the execution of these measures, no official dispatches whatever arrived at Bombay. The presidency received all the information which they had, concerning his operations, from the officers who refused to serve any longer under his command, and were now returned to Bombay. About a week afterwards, indeed, a letter from the general was received, but it did not mention a syllable of what they were most concerned to know. It gave a general detail of uninteresting operations, recriminated on the officers who had abandoned the service, and urged the indispensable necessity of ample and immediate reinforcements. But the ground of the dispute, and what became of the treasure, were points on which he vouchsafed no information. He referred indeed to some difference which had subsisted between him and Colo-  
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Colonel Macleod, concerning the manner of supplying the King's troops on service, and to certain documents on that subject, which he supposed had been already laid before the board. The presidency were therefore under a necessity of applying to Macleod and Humberstone for all the verbal evidence they could afford, and whatever papers they possessed concerning the proceedings and state of the army during the period of the operations in question. It was consequently declared that imputations of the most serious nature, and supported by the strongest evidence, appeared against the general; and, satisfied that the service could not prosper under such a leader, the board thought it their duty not to continue him any longer in the command. A resolution accordingly passed, of removing him from the command, and suspending him from the Company's service, until he should clear up the charges that stood against him. Colonel Macleod was immediately appointed his successor, and Colonel Humberstone and Major Shaw required to join the army.

Matthews had also apprised the presidency of his apprehensions that an enemy of great force was within thirty miles, though it was afterwards found that no such enemy existed, or had appeared long posterior to the date of his letter, in that country. Hyat Saib deceived the credulous general into a conviction that he would raise troops in defence of the English, at the same time that he prevented every appearance of commotion in the country, in  
order

order to lull them into such a state of security as might render them an easy prey to the vengeance which was suddenly to overwhelm them. Their operations were at the same time carried on against several places on the coast, with expedition and success. A Captain Carpenter, in that direction which lies toward Goa, invading the Soondah district, soon reduced the Carwar, and every other fort.

But the capital expedition was against Mangalore. This was Hyder's principal dock-yard, where the rudiments of a formidable navy were rapidly rising into form; where three ships of the line, from fifty to sixty guns, were nearly finished; where several others of different sizes were also upon the stocks; and where large quantities of naval stores were deposited. Two battalions of sepoy from the Bednore country were dispatched to invest the place. A mine was soon sprung, which it is said blew up eighty sepoy. The survivors, notwithstanding, carried the town sword in hand. The governor, with his troops, took refuge in the fort, which, though a place of some strength, made little resistance after the general's arrival with the artillery. In thirty-six hours after the batteries began to play, a practicable breach was opened. The governor immediately surrendered. The security of person and private property was granted to the captured. Thus were most of the strong holds on the Malabar coast in our possession.

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The country, however, though overrun, was not conquered. These advantages were obtained on no plan or principal that could render them secure. The Sultan, after much deliberation, and such a degree of caution, as to those not in the secret of his measures might have an appearance of hesitation, resolved on an immediate deliverance of his paternal dominions. Our expedition therefore, notwithstanding the very culpable manner in which it was executed, produced the precise effect for which it was conceived, and to which it was directed.

The general, for whose want of serious consideration in a situation so precarious it is impossible to give any satisfactory account, instead of withdrawing his troops and artillery entirely from the open Bednore country, and posting them in the gauts which were already fortified and deemed impregnable, on the first intelligence of the enemy's approach, marched at the head of little more than two thousand troops to encounter in the open field a force so numerous, that they not only filled all the adjacent plains, but covered the hills to a greater distance than the eye could reach. The attack commenced on the part of the enemy by a French detachment. Five hundred of our men are said to have fallen by this furious onset in a few minutes. The general soon felt the absence of a Baillie or a Braithwaite. And he made a precipitate retreat to the fortress, abandoning the city entirely. The Sultan took every

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possible precaution to shut up all communication either with the low country, or the sea coast. The garrison in the galls, which might have preserved this important pass, made a miserable defence. The few fugitives who escaped flung the garrison of Cudapore into a panic. The precipitation and confusion, produced by an impulse thus sudden and irresistible, were so great, that numbers of men and horses were inevitably drowned in the hurry of making their escape; the magazines were set on fire, and a large train of artillery disabled or abandoned. This valuable repository of stores and provisions being at once evacuated and destroyed, the remainder of the garrison fled to Onore. Captain Torteano, who commanded in this place, had much merit in protecting his own troops from the panic which had seized their fellow soldiers, whom he had also the good fortune of restoring in some measure to their senses. He then made a spirited exertion to recover the artillery which had been left at Cudapore, but without effect, as the whole was already in possession of the enemy.

The garrison in the fortress of Beandré were in seventeen days reduced to the greatest extremities. Great numbers had been slain during the siege; their sick and wounded exceeded five hundred; they were in great want of provision; and the superiority of the enemy's fire increased prodigiously. A capitulation therefore, after some difficulties, took place. The garrison were to give their

their arms on the glacis, and to restore all public property, but allowed the honours of war; every man to have the privilege of retaining what was his own, and a safe passage to Bombay, at the enemy's expence. To the general also was granted a guard of four hundred of his own sepoy's, with thirty-six rounds of ammunition. The pecuniary article was however defeated. The fort was no sooner surrendered, which happened on the twenty-eighth of April, than, that too much money might not be found on one man, the general ordered his officers to draw on the pay-master for whatever they wanted. By this treachery not a single rupee remained in the fort when evacuated. The Sultan's suspicions being roused by several circumstances which led to a discovery of the facts, the vengeance he inflicted was terrible and immediate. He sent for Matthews; but, instead of admitting him to his presence, he had him thrown into irons. By various pretences, all the principal officers were detached from the army. They suffered incredible severities for the outrages they committed on the helpless. In company with the general, they were kept in close imprisonment for some time in Syringpattam. The general was put to death, it is said, by pouring a certain poisonous liquor down his throat. Twenty officers underwent the same fate. Captain Richardson, who suffered last, threw himself on his knees, and earnestly begged the executioners would at least send to the Sultan for a confirmation of the sentence. This request was

not granted, and he perished with his companions. The catastrophe of these unfortunate men can hardly be recollected, without at the same time thinking of the many innocent and defenceless women who had so recently supplicated their humanity in vain.

What were the entire amount of the treasures found in the wealthy kingdom of Canara, has never been perfectly ascertained. It is asserted in one private account, that the general got possession of a sum of thirty lacks of pagodas, besides an infinite quantity of diamonds and precious stones; that all this booty was secreted, and sent by his brother to Bombay; that his brother soon after fell into the hands of the Nabob, who beheaded him; and, that the army was still uninformed whether all or any of the treasure had ever reached the presidency. By another account it is estimated at forty-eight lacks of pagodas. Both estimates were made since the release of the officers from the long confinement they endured in that country.

The conduct of the sepoys to their fellow sufferers in this ignominious imprisonment, does honour to their feelings and attachment. They cherished the Europeans, who were not so able to support the extremities of this sultry climate, with every humane and tender attention in their power. They resisted all the errors and allurements by which they were tempted to enter into the service of the enemy. And when they were permitted to rejoin their officers they expressed the sincerest satisfaction,



faction, and even presented them with such small sums of money as they had been able to save, for their immediate accommodation.

The Sultan lost no time in leading his victorious troops to the rescue of Mangalore. But here he met with resistance rather different from that which he had so easily subdued at the citadel of Bednore. Indeed the whole energy of the attack depended on his French auxiliaries. By their exertions a breach was actually made, when news arrived in the camp of a peace being concluded between England and France. This event put an immediate end to the operations of the besiegers. Not all the promises, threats, or the address of the Sultan, could prevail on the French to act in any manner against the English, or even to continue longer in his camp. The consequence was a cessation of hostilities on both sides. A mean attempt after this was made to starve our garrison into a surrender. But they were seasonably relieved by General Macleod, who, appearing on the coast with a strong reinforcement, obliged the enemy to afford them a supply. No military operation of any consequence took place after this in these parts. And in the following year a peace was concluded between the Company and the Sultan, in which the conquests on both sides were restored, and the peace of India established.

The war which continued in the Carnatic, notwithstanding the absence of the Sultan, was chiefly between the French and English. Sir Eyre Coote, who had gone to Bengal for the recovery of his

health, returned as soon as he found his strength in some degree repaired, and brought with him ten lacks of rupees. The Resolution, which carried him, was very closely pursued during the passage, by two French ships of the line. The general's anxiety for the consequence, as the public were so deeply interested, kept him constantly on the deck during the chase. The ship and treasure escaped, but the general only survived his arrival two days. His loss to the Company and his country was irreparable. Whatever might have been his imperfections in other respects, as a professional man he had few equals. He had more military science and practice perhaps, than any other general of his time. And it will be long remembered to his honour, as an eulogy to which he was well entitled, that, when our affairs on that side of India had become desperate, his presence restored the confidence of a dispirited army: He was the terror of the most formidable adversary we ever had in that part of the world, and literally the saviour of the Carnatic.

General Stuart, who had succeeded to the command in the absence of Sir Eyre Coote, was, on his death, continued in that situation. And the action in which his abilities were most distinguished happened at Cuddalore. The French, whom it was now an object to drive from the Carnatic, were strongly fortified in this place. In an attempt to carry the out-ports of this fortress, a most bloody and desperate conflict ensued, in which the attack and defence continued to rage with equal fierceness.

fierceness and obstinacy for some time. Our troops, however, succeeded in the enterprise. The killed, wounded, and missing, including the native troops, were not much short of a thousand men. Of the French, notwithstanding their garrison, and the strength of their works, forty-two officers, and six hundred of their best troops, were killed or wounded.

This severe battle was fought on the thirteenth of June; and on the twentieth of the same month Sir Edward Hughes and Suffrein met once more, for the fifth and last time, as enemies in the Indian seas. The English, in their turn, had a superiority of force, and opposed seventeen ships to only fifteen of the enemy; but their crews had been greatly debilitated by sickness. A prodigious cannonade was kept up, from a few minutes past four till seven o'clock in the evening, without intermission. The enemy then hauled off, as they had kept a cautious distance through the whole engagement. On the morning they were wholly out of sight, and discovered the day after at anchor, in the road off Pondicherry. Here Sir Edward dared them the whole of this day, but was immediately obliged to put into Madras for fresh water. And Suffrein took that opportunity of returning to Cuddalore, where he landed two thousand and four hundred of his own men, to assist De Bussy in the defence of that valuable place.

The besieged, from this and several other circumstances, became so confident of their strength,

that they determined to attempt our intrenchments. And our army was not, at that time, in the best condition for sustaining such an onset. The reinforcements, which the general had ordered from Madras, had not yet arrived. Nor was Colonel Fullarton returned from an expedition on which he had been sent in the Coimbatour country. Sir Edward Hughes had departed, and the enemy's fleet were at anchor in the road. Under all these discouraging circumstances; and notwithstanding the force destined for the surprise of the English consisted of the flower of the French army, and were led to the attack by some of their most approved officers, they were received in a manner but little expected. The action commenced, on the part of the French, at three o'clock in the morning, when they endeavoured to surprise our troops. They had, on the first attack, such an advantage only as could be expected against men not regularly prepared to receive them. The assailants, however, soon found themselves on hostile ground. The English armed in a moment, and speedily revenged the insult. Not contented with maintaining their posts, they drove the enemy from the intrenchments, and pushed them so hard on every side, that a complete route instantly took place. The Chevalier de Damas, who headed the party, several officers, and about one hundred and fifty men, were taken prisoners. Our loss was inconsiderable. The sepoys who fought, and even foiled  
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some of the best troops of France, with the bayonet, suffered most.

Soon after this fall, information was received at Cuddalore, from Lord Macartney and Sir Edward Hughes, that peace was re-established between the French and English in Europe. All further hostilities between the two armies immediately ceased, and the prisoners of each were mutually exchanged.

THE END.

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